

**PONTIFICAL CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF ECUADOR  
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**LEXICON ACROSS BORDERS:  
A LEXICAL STUDY ON TRANS-LEXICON USE IN THE ECUADORIAN-  
COLOMBIAN BORDER TOWNS OF TULCAN-IPIALES**

**CARLOS DANIEL TRUEBA ANDRADE**

**DIRECTOR: DRA. ANA ESTRELLA SANTOS**

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*Huar ik im, midzani ik im, dzar is ains Gutiksland*

(Wherever I am, as long as I am there, it's Gothic land)

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# I

## INTRODUCTION

Language means people and people mean change. Throughout the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the Western hemisphere of the world has faced new and massive migrations from the so called industrialized and developed nations. Their societies are in constant evolution and have changed their own monolithic structures along with their native languages. In this frame of history, Ecuador has also faced the challenges of migration, both internal and external, and has seen thousands of internal migrants move to bigger cities such as Quito and Guayaquil as a result of bad economic policies. At the same time, it has seen another wave of external migrants; people who have been driven out of their homelands into foreign territories as Spain, Italy or the United States. This is the case of the province of Carchi, a region on the Ecuadorian-Colombian border where, although the majority of its inhabitants speaks Spanish, some influence of Kichwa along with other extinct *Pasto* languages are still present in their particular dialect. Because of the economic problems in Colombia and the internal conflict between the left wing guerillas, the drug cartels and the Colombian state, thousands of citizens have been forced to leave that country and come to ours. Some others have decided to try their luck and do business and live in Ecuador for a long time. Nariño and Carchi have been tied together by historical and cultural bonds to the point that this region of Colombia holds a very strong Andean identity expressed in the inhabitants along the border. Tulcan still receives Colombian refugees. As this factor has changed the face of the city, many Colombian citizens have their children studying on the other side of the border. This city, along with Ipiales, forms the so called bi-national conurbation Tulcan-Ipiales, an international

port between two sister nations. Because of its dynamicity, this urban agglomeration is an example of bi-national culture, where citizens do not see the border limits as a barrier for their lives, and where language, too, has evolved in a very particular way through time.

## **Research Problem**

## **General Objective**

- To determine and describe lexical similarities that take place among inhabitants of the conurbation Tulcan-Ipiales and demonstrate the influences of dialectal lexical usage of Ecuador and Colombia in both cities.

## **Specific Objectives**

- To identify two groups of individuals of both sexes, between ages 22 to 50 years, being natives and having dwelled in the cities of Tulcan and Ipiales in that order for most of their lives.
- To observe and identify the lexicon used by every person through individual interviews and the respective recordings using the *Atlas Lingüístico del Ecuador* questionnaire.
- To analyze the glossary and identify which of them are used in both cities and which are used only on one side of the border.
- To measure and understand in percentages how similar the lexicon is used between the two cities and how different it is.

This work deals with *lexicon*. By analyzing a list of terms that are commonly used in Tulcan and Ipiales, this work desires to understand *lexical usage* on either side of the border by means of dialectal usage in the region. This *common lexicon* is a result of this study, and



does not constitute its main objective, but it explains the common lexical patterns between the regions of Carchi and Nariño. Since the region is very active because of commerce, we have found lexical patterns by identifying certain terms in both cities and understand whether its usage is limited to the Ecuadorian side or the Colombian side or both. This way we can understand the trend of migratory movements and its impact on lexicon. When understanding that a language is exemplified by speech, we are able to see its most dynamic feature. Through lexicon we understand that a word can unite two different persons who belong to two different realities that do not seem very different. It is important to emphasize this aspect since we want to link two groups as a result of migration and social and economic realities. Northern Andean Spanish has been investigated widely in both Ecuador and Colombia because it constitutes one of the most extensive variations spoken in South America and can be an example of multiculturalism (Arboleda Toro, 1996: 86-87). Not only is it a variation, but it has also been influenced by Kichwa. This investigation is the first of its kind regarding other studies on Andean Spanish in the border region because it hopes to contribute to the *Atlas Lingüístico del Ecuador* and enlighten studies on dialectal lexicon of Spanish in border areas as well as stimulate further investigations in this geographic area. It is relevant because it aims at understanding and contributing to the integration of Colombia and Ecuador. We must mention that the former province of Pasto once belonged to the Incan sphere of influence and, later, to the *Real Audiencia de Quito*, Ecuador's former name. These similarities are not limited by language and dialect, but can be seen in the indigenous roots of gastronomy, customs and traditions that share much more with Ecuador than with Colombia itself.

This work has nine chapters. The first chapter is the introduction. It explains general objectives and specific objectives as well as key elements of the investigation. The second chapter points out a theoretical background on dialectology and the effects of language change and its repercussions in linguistic identity emphasizing into how languages change and how they are affected by economic, political and cultural processes. As mentioned above, the

linguistic point of view on the contact between dialects constitutes the area of investigation together with socio-linguistics and lexicology. Since it constitutes a phenomenon that appears to be happening in an area of social unrest, the lexicon of the conurbation Tulcan-Ipiales is constantly changing.



**Graphic 1:** On the left, Tulcan in Ecuador, on the right, Ipiales in Colombia. There are no real boundaries between them. *Google Earth 2013 (caption)*

The third chapter explains the methodological procedures and techniques to be used in this study. We have used a synchronic criterion in order to measure this study. Our best and most useful tool is the *Atlas Lingüístico del Ecuador* (1993), by Antonio Quilis and Celia Casado Fresnillo, which contains the original source of questions that we used in this study. Although the *ALEcu* is oriented towards a complete explanation of languages, we decided to use only those questions that would allow us to gather enough information in order to prove this. Likewise, we used a multiple set of resources; mainly a camera, a recording device and our personal laptop. This turned out to be quite useful when interviewing subjects. Additionally, we had to take into account other points regarding material, e.g. moving around to meet informants and become better immersed in the culture, and finally contacting cultural institutes in order to achieve this.

The fourth chapter is oriented towards comprehension and revision of historical accounts on the Colombian-Ecuadorian border. In this sense, we have aimed at investigating into such aspects as the colonization of the Pasto plateau, the disappearance of the Pasto indigenous communities, and the cultural boundaries in this area. In this sense, we also aimed at explaining how Ecuador and Colombia share important features of daily life that are mixed with international relations and commerce, social issues, and linguistic facts. In the linguistic area, we decided to talk a little bit about the development of indigenous Pasto languages that have been long disappeared and the situation of contact between Kichwa and Spanish. Regarding Spanish, or *Andean Spanish*, we can say that this area has been investigated widely in both Ecuador and Colombia (Arboleda Toro, 1996:02). This work is limited to a group of people living in the area, who will provide. Due to limitations regarding time and distance, it is focused only on lexical geography and use.

The fifth chapter is the contrastive analysis between Ipiales and Tulcan. We have included in this section the complete lexical corpus modeled after Ana Estrella's investigation into the *Lexico de Pichincha y Guayas: un estudio comparativo* which has become a model for this investigation. One of the goals of this dissertation was to measure how much similarity we could find between these two cities. In this section, lexical correspondence is adjusted to the results of the lexical analysis. Additionally, we have included another section regarding terms which did not appear in the Royal Spanish Academy of Language Dictionary (DRAE in Spanish). These features are very important because we can observe how many terms are "standardized" and how many are not.

The sixth chapter discusses the results of linguistic and dialectal contact on the Colombian-Ecuadorian border. We have analyzed both how Kichwa and Spanish entered linguistic contact and how some of the lexical elements of the former are present in the latter. It is obvious that Kichwa is present in Andean Spanish, because the Spanish missionaries expanded its usage in conflict with the Pasto languages. Likewise, we have dedicated a special section to analyzing *Colombianisms*, since there are certain terms present in the lexicon of Tulcan that have a Colombian origin, or are regarded as being originally from

Colombia. Finally, we have included one last section analyzing uncommon lexical terms that are considered “Colombian” but in practice they are now extended all over the continent and reached Spain.

The seventh chapter deals with our own conclusions. Additionally, we have included in our eighth and ninth chapters bibliography used in the course of this investigation and an appendix with relevant information respectively, which includes the questionnaire.

## **II**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

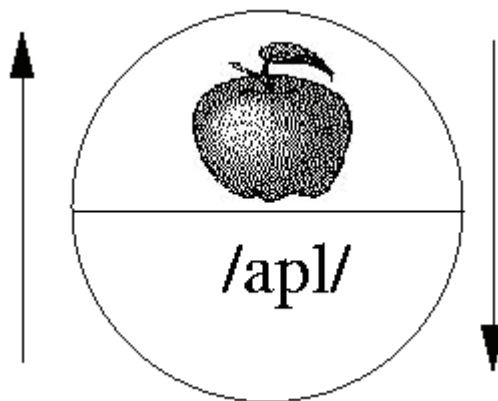
#### **a. Generalities**

This section discusses the theoretical background that constitutes the basis for a proper linguistic study. Through its sections, this work aims at linking the theoretical studies of society and languages with the current topic and providing enough scientific analysis of the problematic. As mentioned above, languages can portray various non-linguistic phenomena through analysis of each of its components. Yet, it is important to establish a direct line dividing what is purely sociologic and anthropologic work from what constitutes dialectal contact and lexicography. Even though linguistics shares much of its field of studies with the former, it focuses on language as a vehicle of human life and can measure language change through explanation of non-linguistic phenomena and influences.

#### **i. Linguistics**

In this sense the role of the investigator is limited to a linguistic spectrum. Saussure (1959:13) defines linguistics as the study of language, and as the study of the manifestations of human speech. He says that linguistics is also concerned with the history of languages, and with the social or cultural influences that shape the development of language. Before going deeper into such concepts, it is important to review what scholars said about languages,

linguistics and dialects. Linguistics was fully developed by Ferdinand de Saussure, who made extensive contributions to the modern scientific study of language. The linguistic sign, the most famous discovery of Saussure, transformed the previous notion of meaning and word. The sign is composed of the *signifier* (*signifiant*), and the *signified* (*signifié*), by which a relationship exists between the object (the part of the word that has significance) a vehicle (the realization of the sign), and an interpreter (understood meaning) (1959:116).



**Graphic 2:** The Linguistic Sign. An example of a Saussurean sign, a bidirectional mapping between a concept and a sound image. The upper part represents the concept of an apple, and the lower part the sound image of the word ‘apple’.

(Huford 2004).

As we can appreciate in this image, the *linguistic sign* is an arbitrary one, since there is no specific link between the concept and the realization. Let us take a look at what Moreno (2004:63) says on *signs*:

Signs are symbolic units, meaning, entities whose function is pointing out, meaning or refereeing another entity. We understand as a ‘sign’ any entity, usually a physical entity that stands for another, the symbolized entity (...). It must be pointed out that the sign by itself does not have any link whatsoever with the symbolized object: it is merely a conventional bond.

For Moreno Cabrera (2004), human language is a group of signs but with a difference from other codes: it is unlimited. There are no limits to the symbolic capacity of language. Many of the sign systems used by any person are derived from language. Those that do not come from any branch of language can be easily adapted to it. Yet, is it easier to create linguistic messages that are incomprehensible. Every individual word contains the substance of a meaning that varies within societies, cultures and continents. Every word, and in this case, every Spanish word, represents a group of people that evolve through time. Saussure attempted to recreate this dichotomy but some authors have expressed serious doubts about their nature. Huford points out the *meaning* as a mental entity, a *sense*, and not a referent object, action or event in the real world. The *sound* end of the relation is not an actual utterance, or articulatory/acoustic event located in space-time; rather, it is a scheme of such events. Coseriu (1969) talks about some concepts on Jespersen's (p. 19) ideas:

Language (language) could be a pluralization of speech, 'collective language and (...) speech (...) would be the temporary linguistic moment of individuals (...) but in conformity with (...) the people surrounding that individual. Language only exists as speech, as a *linguistic activity* (...) *language and speech* cannot be autonomous and separated realities (...) because speech is the realization of language, and, language is the *condition* for speech, and constitutes itself on the bases of speech, it manifests itself only *through speech* (...) and oppositions are merely characterizations and interpretations of a fundamental opposition between *virtual and real, abstract and concrete (system and realization)*. (pg. 41)

Therefore, the opposition between abstract and realization is not possible for the Romanian master. Likewise, Geckeler (1976:52) emphasizes the problems of linguistic meaning. Therefore, such *linguistic distributions* allow the investigator to differentiate between determinations, as it might change the contextual meaning by itself, and the usage of a specific term in a distinctive environment. Several linguistic schools have been discussing

the nature of meaning and its impact on language. Such philosophical discussions can help us realize that a *word* is not a mere abstract entity, but a living structure. Terms, as living structures, are affected by various reasons and can be moved into different territories. In this sense, it is important to understand *language universals*, as was pointed out by Moreno Cabrera (2004). For this author, there are several statements considered *of worldwide usage*. This means that they are true for any language. It was Saussure who established the dichotomy *synchronicity-diachronicity* where he explains how these functions would affect a language. Nevertheless, Moreno Cabrera (2004) clearly states that with the second universal we are able to see that different languages have diachronic transformations all the time. One of these may have lost certain characteristics, such as pluralization of the second person, yet another may still have it. Or, as Moreno Cabrera mentions, while Spanish maintains personal inflexions of the verb, in French this has completely disappeared (2004:247). Likewise, he states that diachronic heterogeneity in synchrony allows any investigation as long as this can take into account the diachronic factor and be able to reconstruct past situations of a language. Such elements as pronouns, deictic elements and proper nouns are manifestations of establishing ties between a language and the world. Next, we want to examine most of the fields that we will cover in this work, with reference to the usage of lexicon, morphology and semantics.

## **ii. Morphology**

Morphology is the study of the structure and formation of terms and its most important unit being the *morpheme*, which is defined as the “minimal unit of meaning” (Hancox, 2009). In this sense, terms are morphological units that can be classified according to their nature or function, and depending on how they are used in a sentence, trace its origins and mutation. It is generally divided between *inflectional morphology* and *derivational/lexical morphology* (Crystal, 2008:340), or better said, the study of inflections and of word formation. In the former, the process determines such aspects as sex, gender, mood, number or case and



constitutes a change in the nature of the word, by which every word can be transformed into a different grammatical category. In a derivation, the word has a single unit attached to its root, usually called an *affix* and does not change the nature of the word. Such evolution is directly attached to the structure of language which, in certain cases, may vary from the original. Morphemes are recognized as “free forms” or “bound forms”. This means that the former may be the core meaning unit, whereas the latter consist merely of affixes that would add a meaningful variation to this unit. Let us take for example the word “unpredictable”. We can divide this word into several parts. *Un-predict-able*. Thus, only *predict* would represent a free morpheme since it stands on a core meaningful unit, whereas *un* represents a prefix denoting “not” and “able” would represent “can be done”, both of them bound morphemes. If we leave *un* and *able* alone, they have no real meaning and cannot be considered “terms” or lexical units with a meaning on their own; rather, they need to be attached to another morphological unit. There are certain terms, such as *no* or *what* that might be considered *monomorphemic*, which, in terms of Crystal (2008:312), is opposed to *polymorphemic* terms. A lexeme is “a term used by some linguists to refer to a minimal distinctive unit in the semantic system of a language”. In this sense, the lexeme appears as an abstract entity directed to define linguistic units by reducing ambiguity and by which a language becomes much simpler. The morphological branch that analyses lexemes takes the stance of viewing terms as a set of morphemes arranged in a sequence by which rules alter the minimal meaningful unit into a new unit. As we mentioned before, *inflectional and derivational morphemes* are protagonists of this analysis. There is a third category to this dichotomy: *compound morphemes*, which usually combine both. We can see it in the example of the word *skinheads*. We find two *free morphemes*, *skin* and *head*. Both are *stems* that represent neither skin nor head, but point out a different concept on a British subculture of the 1960’s. The plural *s* denotes the derivation and inflection combination to form a new entry which is considered distinct from the core meanings of the original terms *skin* and *head*. As we can see, such problems might confuse the investigator and demonstrate the complexity of human language. In our case, we approach lexical morphology, where difficulties arise from classifying elements, in such

way. We must remember that morphology stands together with syntax as the foundation of a language. Yet, these are problems that we will not discuss in this investigation. It is important to remember that we utterly attach ourselves to lexical usage but if any investigator decides to expand this approximation, he or she should try to approach the other and most important subfields of morphology and syntax.

#### **b. Lexicon, semantics and lexical semantics**

*Lexicon* is “el conjunto de monemas y sin-monemas del discurso individual, del discurso colectivo, del sistema lingüístico individual o del sistema lingüístico colectivo” (Haensch, 1982:91-92), whereas lexicology is the study and systematic description of vocabulary in respect to its origin, development and current use. For Haensch (1982), there is a clear distinction between lexicology and lexicography:

We will call lexicon description *lexicology*, which involves structuring and regularities inside the totality of the lexicon that appears in an individual or collective system (...) if we talk about significant inside lexicology we will mean ‘lexical morphology’ (...) if it means regularities on lexical relations with other factors of the linguistic communication (significant content) (...) we will talk about ‘lexical semantics’ (...) ‘*lexicography*’ refers to (...) the study and description of individual monemes and sinmonemes found in individual speech and collective lexical systems (pg. 93)

Lexicology is concerned with terms, variable word-groups, phraseological units, and with morphemes which make up terms (Ginzburg, 1979:07). Each unit can have a variation according to its development, geographic location or social stratification and be widely used among the most vulnerable sectors. Thus, lexicology is linked to semantics, a different linguistic level by which meanings can be recognized and exemplify how

even at a dialectal level, terms can have variations and migrate from one country into another, sometimes holding onto its original connotations and meanings, sometimes with an evolution or change. Consequently, lexicology is the most important academic basis for this study. We talk of a *lexical variation* and a *lexical-semantic variation*, by which there is a long discussion on the nature of *synonymy*. We as well must ask ourselves, “what are we looking for when we study lexical variations?” Moreno Fernández (1998:29) tells us that “(we are) trying to explain alternant usage of lexical forms –normally nouns, verbs or adjectives- in linguistic and extra-linguistic conditions”. Nominally the study spectrum is divided into geographical, social or taboo conditions, by which we might be able to identify social, ethnic or taboo variables. Finding lexical variants represents a very big challenge for the investigator, as it demands collecting enough data in order to demonstrate or not a certain assumption regarding lexical usage. At the same time, Moreno Fernández points out that “lexical studies are too few and show that lexicon relies on extra-linguistic causes –sociological characteristics, situations, beliefs, attitudes, etc.- even though other factors, such as speech rhythm or mother language may have some implication” (1998:29). Understanding the differences between methods will help us to properly achieve or purpose in this investigation. There is a distinction between *extra-linguistic* reality (things) and *language* (terms). Another important distinction consists in differentiating *language (primary language)* from *metalanguage*. The former is the one in which an object is the non-linguistic reality whereas the latter exists as a language: terms designed by meta-language are elements of primary language. Additionally, it is important to bring up to discussion such concepts as *synchrony and diachrony*. Language functions in synchronicity but has a diachronic development. *Synchrony* refers to how a language works in a certain period of time, but it develops *diachronically through* time. We mean that when a language is forming itself, it must use all of its elements take on final shapes that, of course, will only be temporary (Geckeler 1976:223). In this sense, it is seen as the strongest difficulty when the lexical function borders reality through lexemes. There is a distinction between *discourse technique* and *repeated discourse*. Both take place

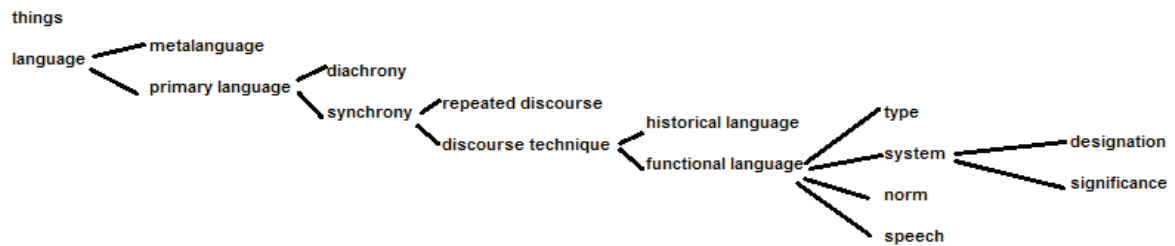
in synchrony; *discourse technique* represents the elements and proceedings by which a language is available, whereas *repeated discourse* refers to every single traditional aspect of a language, such as expressions, phrases, proverbs, quotations, etc. Repeated discourse usually takes advantage of past speech, and cannot be commuted. We can identify and differentiate between *historical language* and *functional language*. Geckeler (1976:225) explains several differences:

1. Differences in the geographic space: *diatopic* differences (such as dialectal differences)
2. Socially condition differences, *diastratic* differences (which affect language levels)
3. Differences in expressive modalities: *diafasic* differences (they affect language styles).

Vocabulary is the last level before realization, meaning, and the last level before meeting that extra-linguistic reality. It is very important to mention what Geckler quoted Coseriu, as saying about distinguishing in lexical observation:

Coseriu has proposed and established the distinction between four structuring levels: type, system, norm and speech (...) structural lexicology excludes the *type* category which is understood as the different procedures of a language. In the *speech* level, *performed speech* is where we find the domains of vocabulary and the lexical variants or meanings that can be of a situational or contextual nature. Likewise, the *norm* involves everything that is not necessarily functional in discourse but which is still used socially speaking (...) meaning that it is *used normally* by the linguistic community. The *system*, on the contrary, involves everything that is objectively functional (different). (1976:228)

By using this definition, we are able to understand that structural semantics searches for the *realization*, meaning where semantics imports the system as a place where functional oppositions take place. Besides the norm, it is important to understand the system. We have taken advantage of the scheme by Geckeler when understanding language and lexicon:



**Graphic 3:** Subdivision of language (Geckeler 1976:229)

Therefore, by carrying out our investigation on lexicon, we will carefully analyze every important and distinctive characteristic that we expect to find while carrying out our task. These aspects will represent a guide for us, since they will tell us which aspects must be taken into account and which ones must not. A lexicon is developed through the application of *primary language*, and can be measured by *synchrony*. It can be distinguished between a *historical language* and a *functional language*. The system will demonstrate whether it is by designation or by signification. As we can see, this is quite subjective, but Coseriu and Geckeler will help us while analyzing our glossary of terms. These factors will be taken into account.

### c. Dialect

In our aim at exposing the most important elements of this dialectal change, we must first define what it is. Crystal (2008) says that a dialect is:

(...) a regionally or socially distinctive variety of language, identified by a particular set of terms and grammatical structures. (..)Any language with a

reasonably large number of speakers will developed dialects, especially if there are geographical barriers separating groups of people from each other, or if there are divisions of social class. One dialect may predominate as the official or standard form of the language, and this is the variety which may come to be written down. (p. 142)

Alvar (1983 in Moreno, 1998:88) considers dialect to be “un sistema de signos desgajado de una lengua común, viva o desaparecida, normalmente concreta a una delimitación geográfica, pero sin fuente de diferenciación frente a otros de origen común”. Regardless of the definition of “dialect”, we must point out that the characteristics of this particular case, mentioning that the “regional formation” of Andean Spanish, rely heavily on the influences of Kichwa due to historical reasons that permitted the extensive contribution of southern indigenous languages around the nation of Pasto. Languages and society are interrelated to each other and are determinants in the process of transformation of a regional speech, or a dialect. In this sense, Weinreich (1974:07) mentioned that “la práctica lingüística de utilizar dos lenguas de forma alternativa se denominará (...) bilingüismo”. By talking of dialects, we are dealing with *dialectal contact*, or, contact between two variations of a language spoken in two different places, or separated by circumstantial aspects, such as borders, wars, etc. A *dialect* is a system of sounds with a concrete geographic delimitation and with no differentiation (Alvar, 1983 en Moreno Fernandez, 1998:88). In this sense, every language has a group of variables that influence its development, and consequently, its structure. As certain languages are in contact, dialects can be in contact too. They are frequently developed between nations that have strong cultural differences. As in the Greek-Turkish border both languages are spoken by individuals living in binational conurbations, such as what takes place in such border areas as the Ecuadorian-Colombian border, where neighboring dialects have produced a new variation that shares linguistic aspects common to those on both sides of the border. Nevertheless, the Andean Spanish of Pasto and Carchi have been subject to what can be interpreted as “internal differences with syntopic unities, or the dialect by itself,

synstratic unities or *instruction levels*, and synfasic unities or *language styles*” (Coseriu 1998:14). The process of adjusting the language to non-linguistic phenomena produced a dialect that is limited to southern region of the Andean range in Colombia and the northern region of Ecuador, with a low/popular register and a familiar register. The teaching of standard Spanish has been affected by the migration of individuals from Ipiales or Tulcan to areas outside their native land, like Bogota or Medellin or Quito. The migratory movement of individuals has an impact that may modify this trend, but it is not our purpose to discuss such changes, rather to determine how much these two dialects have in common with each other. Crystal (2008:168) mentions the difference between dialect and language, pointing out that “dialects are subdivisions of languages (...) Linguistics has (...) to point to the complexity of the relationship between these notions”. Before concluding our theoretical framework, we think it is necessary to mention those aspects that influence language and dialectal development. In this sense, it is necessary to briefly mention the concept of identity as vehicle of expressing a culture and a certain ethnicity. In this case, we are talking of the Andean range and its peoples. Identity can be explained as follows:

I use ‘identity’ to refer to the meeting point, the point of suture, between on the one hand the discourses and practices which attempt to ‘interpellate’, speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities, which construct us as subjects which can be ‘spoken’. (Hall, 1996: 5–6 in Edwards, 2009: 16)

Then, it is considered a ‘sign’ of recognition of a group’s own way of seeing the world; of an individual’s own ‘perception’ and subjectivity. Thus, languages are effectively affected by identity, since identity is conceived by linguists as a factor shaping our own world. ‘Patterns of our language’ are understood as a mutual consensus between the world and our mind, by using language as a description and adapting it to our reality. But as we are speaking as

individuals, we must remember that every observation on singulars takes place in plurals, i.e., the 'community'. Edwards has pointed out that:

(...) the continuation of language diversity as evidence of a wide-spread human desire to stake particular linguistic claims to the world, to create unique perspectives on reality and to protect group distinctiveness: in a word, to protect an important vehicle of culture and tradition. It is with a view to this desire that Steiner (1992: 243) speaks of separate languages enabling groups to keep to themselves the 'inherited, singular springs of their identity'. (2009:54)

Strictly speaking, a dialect is a variety of a language that differs from others along three dimensions: vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation (accent)(Edwards, 2009:63). In our case, we will use these parameters to understand that lexicon can be used as a sign of dialectal usage of the Colombian dialect together with the Ecuadorian dialect due to cultural similarities. The preference of one option over another and the presence of one response in the other location will be registered by collected data and will help the researcher to reach a conclusion that will point out if it is possible to trace such a phenomenon. Due to globalization, we experience integration of states into larger economic and political bodies (as what happens in Latin America with the example of UNASUR), and by so, languages have their own impact and evolve through time and history. We must not only do a mere analysis on the situation, but understand the reasons behind studying dialectal contact, ultimately exposing the myths on national monolingual and mono-cultural identity and reconsider countries as a conglomerate of different peoples.



### III METHODOLOGICAL PROCEDURES

#### **a. Linguistic Geography**

Languages evolve differently between one another, and this problem affects any single place where linguistic differences tend to appear according to the type of population that uses a certain dialect as a tool for communication. Because of this, linguistic geography is linked to dialectal development and to linguistic contact. Understanding the usage of certain terms is easily explained through a linguistic atlas, which aims at describing variations of a specific language in a limited territory. What is, per se, linguistic geography? This question is still being discussed by scholars. For example, Crystal (2008:210) gives a very vague account on linguistic geography or as he calls it, “geographical linguistics” or “geolinguistics”: “The study of languages and dialects in terms of their regional distribution is sometimes collectively referred to by this label, though the terms dialectology and areal linguistics are more commonly used”. This means that this sub field is very much linked to dialectology. Iorgu Iordan points out: geographic linguistics is the cartographic study of popular speech (1967:251). The author explains how this discipline appeared when studies were directed towards popular speech. Researchers visited a region, listened to what the locals would say and then meditate about specific points of that speech. Most of the time, these aspects were compared to a standard version of the language and then its characteristics were explained. However, such aspects as differences between one and another, similarities, causes, etc.,

remained unexplained. Most of the time, linguists based their conclusions only in glossaries which were compiled by amateurs. These studies, even though they were quite extensive, had a limited impact on the development of understanding dialects and languages.

### **i. Linguistic Atlases**

Iordan explains that linguists came with the idea of using *atlases*, e.g. maps, where they could actually portray these differences within territorial and human demarcation, and by which they could study multiple speech variations at the same time. Any phonetic or morphologic particularity could be seen immediately in all the variations of a region. This way, the usage of tens of glossaries was dismissed because the investigator could just see a map and understand how that particular term was used in a specific geographic point and not in another. Linguistic geography is considered more of a method than a discipline, yet its development has evolved into an almost-complete independence from dialectology (Coseriu, 1986:115). For Iordan (1967:254): a linguistic map is a real overview that details linguistic facts according to its geographic distribution. García Mouton (2006:63) says that linguistic geography, as dialectology, studies language variation in real space and reflects it on maps. Its innovation lies in the process of gathering linguistic facts in specific places using a strict methodology that includes direct poll and later place it in maps. This means that linguistic geography is very much linked to dialectology, but with enough differences to mark a separation between what is a purely dialectal study from the division of linguistic geography. Coseriu (1977:114) points out that the main objective of linguistic geography is the linguistic atlases, which consist in a series of maps inside the very same territory. These maps portray the bond between linguistic history and geographic factors. This is a very important aspect during an investigation because it points out how and why there are certain linguistic forms in specific territories. Thanks to linguistic maps it is possible to see how languages have been developed and how geographic barriers, like a mountain, have stopped the expansion of a certain dialect. Likewise, it is possible to see how areas which

are geographically isolated from innovative centers maintain archaic forms in language. Nevertheless, Estrella (2009:14-15) explains that linguistic maps do not reflect the reality of a language, but only a sample of the most important phenomena inside the framework of the questionnaire. Yet, it is important to remember that language is alive, and linguistic maps present this reality, as well as a precise and measured image of the level of vitality and dissemination of a specific map. They investigate all equal points in an objective way and offer, as a result, homogenous and comparable materials.

## **ii. The questionnaire**

The vast amounts of studies regarding geographic linguistics are supported by the usage of a questionnaire. Such questionnaires are based on specific aspects of human life which involve a preliminary investigation of the aspects of a geographic space to study. For example, the differences between a coastal town and a highland town will influence on the development of questions to be used in those populations. For example, a question that involves fishing industries will have no sense in the highlands, as fishing is not a primary activity in comparison to agriculture. Likewise, talking about corn fields or maize industry will not have much meaning to a fisherman. Alvar (1969:122) explains that any linguistic atlas counts with a general lexicon and another specific lexicon (for example, shepherds, fishermen, smiths, etc.). Such division may be necessary since any factor such as geography, people or history may change itself. For example, in Spain, no questionnaire can avoid including wine or oil. Yet, in many regions of this country wine or oil does not mean anything. On a regional level, the investigator must be aware of such differences between individuals and regions. For example, the *Nouvelle Atlas linguistique de la France par regions (NALF)* was oriented toward two sections: nationwide and regional. A national atlas with a common corpus contrasted with a regional atlas with a specific corpus. This is, of course, our case, since most of the answers that we obtained are divided into these two categories.

### **iii. The researchers**

Most atlases, in the criterion of Alvar (1969:130), do not use single researchers. When we analyze the history of these atlases, we will see how difficult it was for some to get collaborators into investigating and conducting surveys and research. This problem was present when the NALF was still in development. Around thirteen researchers, whose number was increased while the project was being developed, were employed to conduct every poll. There is a problem with uniformity and objectivity when there are multiple researchers. This issue can tear down the unity of the transcription of the survey, because even though researchers might have a very good ear, it is very hard not to find errors. Alvar is clear in this sense. For him, the problem lies in atomizing the whole task. Diversity of researchers does not mean that within a specific area investigators have to divide their work into two. Most of the time, this problem leads to certain issues such as duality of subjects, duality of transcribers, or different questions, just to mention a few of them. (1969:137). Alvar is clear on this aspect, but since this investigation is only a mere approximation and does not aim, yet, at establishing a clear pattern for a bi-national atlas of the southern region, only one investigator conducted the interview along with his dissertation director. These surveys were conducted with the cooperation and good will of individuals who were chosen by specific contacts in the region. For further information, please check the *Design and Methodology* section.

### **iv. The Informants**

Alvar (1969:139) explains that there are two factors to be taken into account when conducting a survey: a) nature of the survey and b) questionnaire structure. Most subjects must be interviewed under these parameters, including such aspects as working place, family, time spent outside the location and so on. Alvar specifies that only one informant is enough. His or her survey must be conducted in total isolation in order to prevent any form of

interruption that may cause a lack of fluidity or nature in the answers of the informant. Again, there are aspects that may lack information, as, for example, in the case of housewives who may know a lot about domestic chores or feminine clothing in contrast to the daily activities of a male worker. Likewise, it is not the same to compare between a farmer and a person who lives in the city: both differ in the way they act and how their daily activities are developed. Similarly, men and women tend to be different. Alvar (1969:140) talks about women being conservative or maintaining archaic terms, but in other situations they are the ones who take the initiative in innovation. There is a clear opposition between men and women which forced Alvar to include certain sociological aspects in his investigations since he found such aspects in border areas. In the same way, he found many other aspects when investigating urban areas with a reduced list of questions. Alvar is very emphatic when mentioning ‘structure of the questionnaire’. For him, it is important to involve individuals of both sexes and different occupations. A capital point in this area is to recognize which questions are going to be used. All of the gaps we mentioned before are a key point in the case of our surveys. Most of our subjects are individuals who belong to a small urban area surrounded by a rural area with strong agricultural activity. Besides, since we are talking about a border area, it is necessary to include such aspects as foreign commerce and exportations and its impact in this area and how inhabitants deal with them.

## **b. Historical Overview of the Linguistic Atlases**

### **i. Origins**

Linguistic atlases were originally developed in the XIX century by several investigators. Jordan gives us a brief account on how they were developed. The German investigator Georg Wenker was influenced by the ideas of neo-grammarians. He wanted to demonstrate that there are phonetic dialectal limits. To do this, he formulated a questionnaire with around 40 small phrases. Wenker sent the list to teachers and other scholars, who had the task of

translating each sentence into their own local dialect. As he received some answers, he developed his maps. Unfortunately, he could only publish one part of it in 1881 (Jordan 1967:254). His conclusions were clear: there were no dialectal borders and, in a strict sense, there are no dialects. G. Weigand developed an atlas on the Daco-Romanian languages. This author elaborated a direct survey with a questionnaire that tried to explain the differences of the eastern Romance languages (this includes Romanian, Aromanian, Istro-Romanian and Megleno-Romanian) in the early months of 1909. His atlas contained only 67 maps, of which 16 were a summary of the others and another three gave some detail on the extension of sub-dialects of Daco-Romanian. It is Jules Gillieron, together with E. Edmont, who started what is known as the first proper linguistic map: the *Atlas linguistique de la France*. Gillieron was born in Switzerland, where he grew up together with farmers. He was accustomed to such dialectal usages that he was able to understand any rural individuals in the city. After having published some works regarding dialectal farmers, Gillieron was appointed as cathedrat of dialectology in *L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes-Etudes*, in Paris, where he worked until his death (1926). His motivation on contributing to a linguistic atlas was stimulated by the fact that centralization in France was transforming the speech of farmers. In order to classify each dialect, Gillieron developed a list of more than 1900 questions, which, in comparison to the other two predecessors, was absolutely superior. Contrary to them, Gillieron understood that dialectology had to study more than phonetics, and for this reason he included several questions on morphology, syntax and lexicon. In this last subfield, he ensured himself not to only include popular speech, but also cult terms, which would delimit the expansion of standard language. His original destination consisted in more than 37,000 locations, from which he eliminated only 639. Some of the regions to be avoided included Brittany, the Basque country and the Flemish provinces of northern France. On the contrary, his investigation went beyond borders. He was able to investigate in the southern region of Belgium (Valonnie), in Switzerland (west Switzerland) and in Italian Piedmont. His collaborator Edmond Edmont was in charge of conducting the interviews. Gillieron chose Edmont because of his characteristics: he did not belong

to a scholar environment and did not use a standard dialect. Edmont's journey lasted four years and a half. He would approach a village, where he would meet informants and then proceed to collect answers in a notebook. Every question was read in the same order. Then, Edmont would send Gillieron his notebook without a chance of revising it. Each map would be assigned the standard term and the local term found by Edmont. The *Atlas Linguistique de la France* had a very great impression in many places. Many linguists saw in this the beginning of a revolution regarding language studies. Jordan (1967:263) considers Gillieron as the real predecessor of the development of linguistic atlases throughout the XIX and XX centuries. Estrella (2009:15) points out Gillieron's revolution, saying that "regional atlases" present advantages in comparison to national atlases: they are able to portray "dialecticism". This means that they involve a very strict knowledge of the small domain in study, which means that isoglosses will be identified. Yet, they are unable to provide a complete vision of the specific territorial entity which is studied.

## **ii. Linguistic Atlas in Latin America**

Estrella talks about the first steps in linguistic geography. In Puerto Rico, T. Navarro Tomás, in his book *El Español en Puerto Rico, Contribución a la geografía lingüística hispanoamericana* (Rio piedras, 1948), included a small atlas which can be considered the first of its kind in Latin America and perhaps the prototype which established the beginnings of a tradition that was followed by others later. The second country to take the lead was Colombia, where the *Atlas Linguístico y Etnográfico de Colombia* (ALEC) became the most modern study on linguistic geography. This Atlas was published in six volumes but, unfortunately, its maps were transcribed to terms. J.M. Rivas Sacconi and Luis Florez, director of the *Instituto Caro y Cuervo* of that time took the lead in developing this project. Some years later, in 1954, T. Oliver joined Florez and collaborated with the list of questions of the ALEC. The surveys were conducted between 1959 and 1978. The first publishing of the Atlas began in 1982 and was finished the next year. For the *Instituto*

*Caro y Cuervo* the ALEC became one of the most important books in any philological work and the first of its kind in Colombia (2009:16).

Estrella is precise when pointing out the importance of mentioning studies in neighboring countries. She mentions the studies of A. Chirinos in Peru regarding the distribution and density of speakers. But perhaps the most important study besides the ALECU (*Atlas Lingüístico del Ecuador*) is the *Atlas Lingüístico de Hispanoamérica* (ALH) by Manuel Alvar and Antonio Quilis. This project was stopped because both Alvar and Quilis died. Nevertheless, the ambition of such a project included the intention of giving a complete portrayal and a dialectal physiognomy of American Spanish (Estrella 2009: 18).

### **c. The *Atlas Lingüístico del Ecuador***

Ana Estrella, in her book *El léxico de Pichincha y Guayas*, explains that the linguistic atlas written by authors Antonio Quilis and Celia Casado Fresnillo was written in order to fulfill the requirements of the *Casa de Montalvo* in Ambato, Ecuador, in order to illustrate the linguistic diversity of Ecuador (2009:27). The questionnaires were developed as early as 1993, but they were not published, first, due to economic problems of the *Casa de Montalvo* and, later, due to a change in the direction of this project. In 1999, the Pontifical Catholic University of Ecuador took the project into a new era, by giving support for the investigation and media available. The development of this investigation was performed in coordination with the directors (Quilis and Casado) together with Estrella and Gerardo López, who became the Ecuadorian investigators for this work.

#### **i. Selection and distribution of poll spots**

The first step in determining where the interviews would take place lead the investigators to do a review on every aspect of human life, with special regards to geography, demographics, history, economy and culture. The most important factors to be



taken into account were population numbers and the demographic density of each place. Additionally, the distance between the selected places and linguistic, ethnic or social circumstances were taken into account. There were around 100 areas with around 230 informants (Estrella 2009:28).

<b>Regions</b>	<b>N° Poll Spots</b>	<b>N° Informants</b>
<b>Coastal Region</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>80</b>
<b>Highlands</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>108</b>
<b>Amazonian region</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>Galapagos Islands</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>230</b>

## **ii. Questionnaire development**

Antonio Quilis had already experimented with linguistic questionnaires, as he participated in the *Atlas Lingüístico de Hispanoamérica* (Linguistic Atlas of Hispanic America). His experience was very useful when elaborating on the list of questions to be used in this investigation. Some previous works, such as Humberto Toscano's *El Español en el Ecuador* (1953) and the *Atlas Linguístico-Etnográfico de Colombia*, directed by Luis Flórez (1981-1983) were referential. The latter became very useful since it belonged to a neighboring country which contributed to making comparisons possible. The first pilot poll was performed in order to determine pertinence and profitability of the questions or to determine if new questions were required. Altogether, there were about 3071 questions which included lexical, phonetic, morphologic and syntactic levels. The questionnaire was divided into several subfields: 1. Human Being. 2. Dress. 3. Family and cycle of life. 4. City and transportation. 5. Housing and housework. 6. Alimentation. 7. Occupation. 8. Parties, games and entertainment. 9. Education. 10. Weather and atmospheric phenomena. 11. Topographic features. 12. The Countryside and its crops. 13. Farming industries. 14.

Charcoal. 15. Beekeeping. 16. Livestock. 17. Livestock related industries. 18. Wild Animals. 19. Vegetables. 20. Navigation and fishing.

Due to team suggestion, there was another questionnaire specifically written for field work, where pictures and other resources were used and the lexicon proper of Ecuador was used in order to further help informants in their task. The reason for using these methods consisted in eliminating any subjectivity or bias, yet the questionnaire was progressively modified throughout the completion of this project. Several questions were eliminated from the original since they were not really important and others were added because the research team thought it would be much better to include them (Estrella 2004:31). Some of the questions used in the investigation are the following:

1. La piel. (Hombre y mujer)
2. Cómo se le dice a la persona que resulta del cruce de indio y blanco? > [\*mestizo; \*cholo; \*chazo; \*laichu].
3. Que es la mancha pequeña, redonda y oscura que aparece aislada en la cara o en otra parte del cuerpo se llama... > [\*lunar].
4. ¿cómo se le dice a esa cosa oscura y dura que queda en una herida o en un grano cuando se ha secado y que más tarde se cae? > [\*costra; \*castra; \*postilla; \*caracha].
5. ¿sabe cómo se llama la enfermedad de la piel producida por un parásito que se introduce debajo de ella produciendo heriditas y, sobre todo, un gran picor? Suelen contagiarla los perros y los gatos, y a ellos se les cae el pelo cuando padecen esta enfermedad. > [\*sarna; \*rasquiña].

### **iii. Informants**

Informants had to fulfill certain specific requirements in order to be part of the project: to be native speakers of Spanish, to be native inhabitants of the location or at least to have spent

a considerable amount of time there, like three quarters of a lifetime, to have complete denture and enough mental agility to be able to understand and answer questions with security and speed. In relation to the level of education, there were two types of informants: a) those who had a higher/college education, and b) those who had at least finished elementary school. We must remember that twenty years ago Ecuador was one of the countries with a high percentage of analphabetism.

#### **iv. Implementation of survey**

Every survey was performed by one single investigator using a tape recorder which registered some frequencies between 90 and 9000 Hz. In some cases, the transcription was done *in situ* using the International Phonetic Alphabet. For the purpose of a faithful recording, informants were required to wear a unidirectional microphone.

#### **d. Design and method**

This investigation is focused on synchronicity. We are investigating the second half of 2013 and because of that we will aim at recording both qualitative and quantitative data. Our aims include understanding the terms to be collected and show them in their proper context. For such investigation, we need to search for information regarding extra-cultural aspects of the area in question. Borrego (1981) says that “resulta imprescindible el recurso de la encuesta, con todos los problemas que tal instrumento conlleva”. For Borrego, such a field requires the analysis through polls and interviews by understanding its nonlinguistic aspects. We have divided our methodology into several important aspects: location, informants, investigator, resources and additional details.

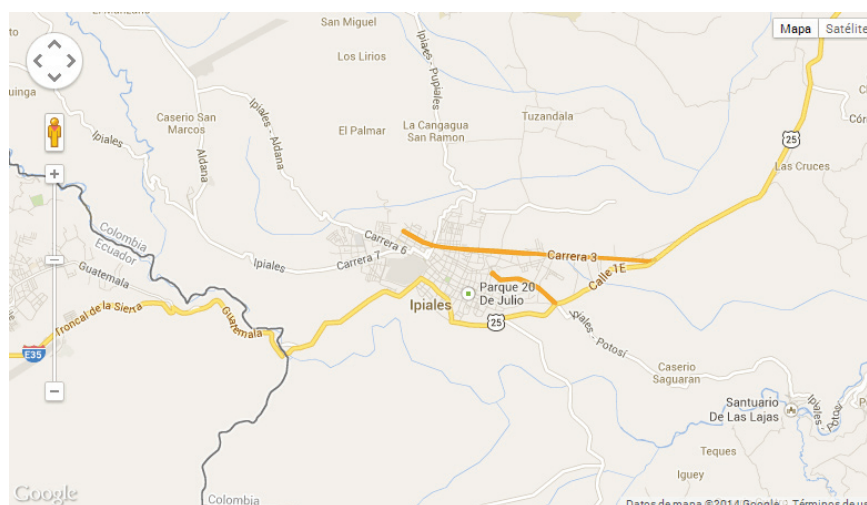
## i. Location



**Graphic 4:** “Tulcan and Ipiales” (Google Map Caption)

As pointed out before, this study is specific to the Ecuadorian-Colombian Border. Because of a common historical background mentioned later, Ipiales and Tulcan are two cities so close to each other that only the border limits them. Less than 10 kilometers separate each other, yet most individuals have family on either side of the frontier (according to the interviews conducted by the researcher). The Colombian department of Nariño is quite different from the rest of Colombia because it is located in the last cultural and historical provinces of the Inca Empire. Besides, the Andean region of Nariño (whose capital is Pasto) has cultural ties to Ecuador. In this sense, the cultural area of the *Pastos*, because of its original inhabitants, stretches between the Mayo River and the Chota River. In order to properly give a better insight of the two cities located, we will review on certain specific aspects which are relevant to our investigation.

## *Ipiales*



**Graphic 5** Ipiales in the Nariño Department  
(Google Maps Caption, Online Consult February 14, 2014)

Ipiales is located in the south central extreme limit of the department of Nariño. It is divided into an urban area and rural areas (called “veredas” in Colombia). According to the website of the Municipality of Ipiales:

(...) the most important profits of the city of Ipiales involve economic activities such as agricultures, livestock and commerce (...) because of its condition of Border district (...) commerce has key importance for interchange and transit of products and merchandise (...) it is the second most importer port of entry of Colombia after Cucuta in the Colombian-Venezuelan border (...)

Because of its importance on the border, Ipiales has a population of 123,341 inhabitants in the complete area, both urban and rural. Additionally, around 5.3% of any family will be determined to economic activities, whether commerce or agriculture. Ipiales has one indigenous reservation recognized by the Colombian state (Municipality of Ipiales Resolution

006, 1-17: 2011) which encompasses the indigenous population with special rights. Ipiales is a legal municipality recognized as one of the 64 municipalities of the Nariño department of which the city of San Juan de Pasto is the capital. It was established on the former province of Obando, an administrative term still used by some officials and by common people in general.



Tulcan, on the other side, it is the northernmost city of the Ecuadorian highlands. It is the capital of the province of Carchi and its major urban center. It has a population of approximately 86,765 inhabitants (Prefecture of Carchi website) and it's most important economic activities include, like Ipiales, farming, agriculture and others. Tulcan, as Ipiales, remains the economic center of the province. Most inhabitants will travel there to sell their products. According to the website of the Carchi Prefecture, 85% of Tulcan's economic activity is directly linked to commerce with Colombia (specifically Ipiales) since it holds the Rumichaca Port of Entry. There is a transit of more or less 13000 vehicles per day, making it the most intense port of entry of Ecuador and, as mentioned before, the second busiest port of entry of Colombia after Cucuta, which links to the Venezuelan border city of San Antonio

del Tachira (Prefecture of Carchi website). The Rumichaca is a necessary pass for any individual traveling north to south or viceversa. Most tourists, truck drivers and others take the road through Rumichaca to enter either nation. For further details on both populations please advance to the next sections dedicated to the analysis of the current economic, social and political situation of the Colombian-Ecuadorian border.

## **ii. Informants**

Informants were selected among women and men, ranging from 22 to 40. For the purpose of practical campus, our informants were chosen according to the nationality of the subjects. The first step consisted in identifying daily chores and activities of Ipiales and Tulcan. In both cities, the most important requirement was to be a native of the location, or at least of a neighboring location. For Ipiales we chose four informants:

- ***one male, 38 years old, native of Gualmatan (20km. away from Ipiales). High school education. Single. Mother from Gualmatan, father from Ipiales.***
- ***one male, 53 years old, native of Ipiales. College education. Married. Mother from Ipiales, father from Gualmatan.***
- ***one female, 50 years old, native of Ipiales. College education. Married Mother from Ipiales, father from Ipiales.***
- ***one female, 30 years old, native of Ipiales. High school education. Single Mother from Pasto, father from Ipiales.***

In the case of Tulcan, one informant spent her school time in Quito, for around three years, but had not lost her accent or jargon in the meanwhile:

- ***one male, 35 years old, native of Tulcan. High school education, Single Mother from Tulcan but her parents from Nariño, Ecuador; father from Tulcan.***

- *one male 37 years old, native of Tulcan. High school education. Single. Mother from Tulcan, father from Tulcan.*
- *one female, 24 years old, native of Tulcan. High school education. Single Mother from Tulcan, father from Tulcan but grandfather from Carlosama, Colombia.*
- *one female, 48 years old, native of Tulcan. High school education. Married. Mother from Espejo, father from San Gabriel.*

Most of the informants had spent most of their lives in their respective cities. As we mentioned before, we chose two men and two women per location, in order to understand such differences mentioned by Alvar on how gender may be a factor on defining change in lexical usage.

### iii. Resources

Resources are a very important factor when conducting an investigation. We mentioned that we would use qualitative data, because we used surveys. Haensch (1982) mentions that:

(...) gathered vocabulary (...) involves mostly cult vocabulary (literary or not) and standard, which involves certain familiar and popular vocabulary (only in few circumstances we might find vulgar or taboo vocabulary), of regional vocabulary, technicalities, and of certain jargon elements. When we talk about general vocabulary (...) we must understand that this vocabulary (...) is and cannot be considered the whole lexicon of a language (...)

This is why we chose the *Atlas Lingüístico del Ecuador* of Antonio Quilis, Celia Casado-Fresnillo. These questions were originally used by Ana Estrella, director of this investigation, in her book *El Léxico de Pichincha y Guayas*. For the purposes of an approximation of the



reality of the Colombian-Ecuadorian border, it was agreed to reduce the original number of 3071 questions to around 340 questions. This was done because it would have demanded more time and more informants in order to complete this study. Nevertheless, any individual willing to complete or to expand this approximation study should take into consideration the original number of questions and informants used in the ALEC for future researches. We conducted our research using a Laptop and a tape recorder. We asked the informants to spend an hour and a half with us. The interviews lasted more or less this amount of time, but we did not only use the ALECU questionnaire. We asked several other questions related to cultural aspects of the informants, their relation with the border and with the neighboring town and how they saw each other. It is important to mention that the investigator spent three days in each location, contacting the informants and preparing the material to be recorded. Hotel and food expenses, as well as bus tickets were included in the budget.

#### **iv. Final Results**

Since we talked about quantitative data, we must mention that our purpose in measuring lexical usage in Ipiales and Tulcan had a clear quantitative method. We measured each survey according to the number of answers of each location. Likewise, we have separated the terms that did not appear in one location or another, meaning, terms that were used exclusively in one city. In the following sections we have discussed the amount of similarity and difference between both cities. Both *Colombianisms* and Kichwa terms have been analyzed separately.

## IV

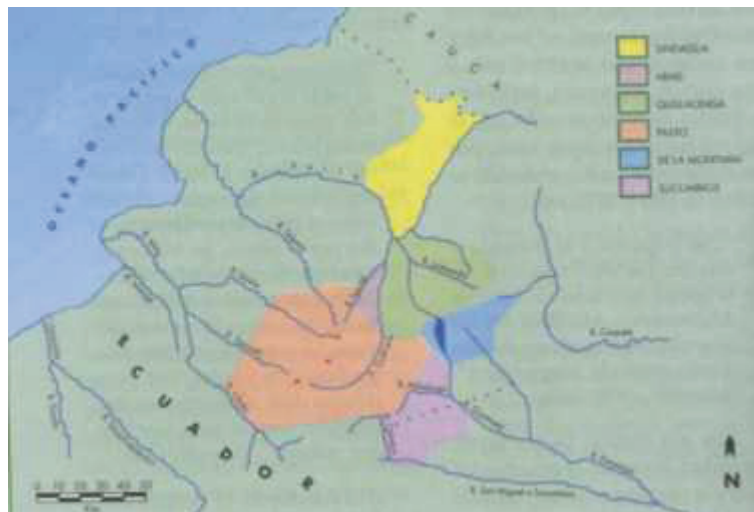
### IPIALES AND TULCAN: HISTORICAL APPROXIMATION AND LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENT

#### **a. IpiALES and Tulcan: Historical Brief**

The history of the Ecuadorian-Colombian border can be divided into several periods which represent the most important economic and political changes seen in this area. Perhaps the most important character to distinguish is that of a dynamic area which has seen the impact of multiple conflicts with one another as well as other aspects such as social, economic and cultural boundaries. As we have mentioned before, this area has long been considered to be part of the wider region of the *Pastos* due to archeological and cultural findings. Most importantly, it is the repercussion to modern times and how these processes have influenced today's inhabitants, their way of living and their view of the world. We have tried to give a brief account of the most important facts and events. The Pasto plateau, where Tulcan and IpiALES are located, is considered a single unitary entity which has an artificially articulated line as a border. History tells us of the most important characteristics of the region such as their own Pasto identity, the cultural, economic and social isolation of the Pasto province from the rest of Colombia and the everlasting attempts of Ecuadorian presidents to incorporate the province into Ecuador. We have already mentioned this before, but it is important to remember: Nariño belongs to the Andean cultural sphere because of its traits and characteristics and this is even more plausible if we understand that the *Nariñenses*

share popular customs, gastronomy and, in our case, language. As we mentioned in the introduction, languages mean people, and if people are alive, then languages are alive. It is because of them that we are able to be here and talk about such events of our ancestors.

#### i. Pre-Hispanic Time



**Graphic 7:** The Areas where the Pasto indigenous groups inhabited at the arrival of the Spaniards (Banco de la República, 2014)

The name *pasto* has had multiple interpretations without reaching a final consensus due to the very few studies on this indigenous group.

(Guzman, 2000: online)

The area of Tulcan and Ipiales was inhabited by the Pasto indigenous communities before the arrival of the Spanish conquistadores. There is some controversy around the definition of who were the Pasto indigenous groups. There seems to be a confusion regarding the true nature of these groups because of some historians like Gonzales Suarez, who identified the Pastos and Quillacingas as the same groups. Cieza de Leon, a historian, was very much of the idea of a differentiation between languages. In 1593, the Ecclesiastical synod of Quito

defined the necessity of having two different translations of catechism; one for the Pasto and another for the Quillacinga. Both languages are currently extinct, mainly because of the imposition of certain linguistic policies of the colonial government.

We must point out that, as it generally happens with the names imposed by the dominator and used by the ideology and the knowledge of its descendants, for those communities under this name, *Pasto* does not exist neither in oral memory nor in documentation regarding testimonies or litigation. We find the same problem regarding spatial, general, precise limits. (Guzman, 2000: online)

This is clear from the multiple locative names present in both Nariño and Carchi. This division is another clear way of imposing an ideology and gives a new identity that will respond to the requests of the dominator. In our case we find two main dominators: the Incas and the Spaniards, both of whom imposed their own ways of life upon the Pasto people and subjected them. The only difference is the time of domination. The Incas dominated the Pasto plateau for little less than 30 years, whereas the Spaniards were there for about three hundred years. Regarding the origins of the Pasto group, some say that they were related to the *Cayapas* or the *Chibchas* in both Ecuador and Colombia (Grijalva) but it is not clear whether they had a direct influence from either culture or if they were the result of contesting migratory trends. The Pastos had their economy in the work of fields:

Economically speaking, the Pastos were very productive since they used the diversity of thermic levels and ecosystems present in their territory, in order to obtain different types of food which were consumed for their daily diet or for commerce. This system is known as micro-verticality which enabled contact with neighbor societies of humid lands and jungles of the Pacific coast and the Amazon basin. (Museo del Oro, online)

Pasto communities were very much in the same line of any pre-hispanic indigenous groups: they were dedicated to agriculture; they emphasized the usage of corn in multiple forms, such as alimentation, trade or ritual usage. They were not a conquering ethnicity, contrary to the Caras or the Cañaris, and they did not develop their weapons as the Incas did (Enciclopedia Salvat Historia del Ecuador). Jijon y Caamaño, in *Historia del Ecuador*, is emphatic to point out the most important settlements around the Rumichaca bridge: Piales or Ypiales and Tulcanquer or Tulcan. The Piales indigenous groups were in contact with the *Tulcanazas*, the other group south of the Rumichaca, named after their chieftain Garcia Tulcanaza. They belonged to the Pasto groups and not to the Quillacingas, who, according to Grijalva (1998:94), were a separated group that inhabited the northern portion of the Nariño department, from the Guaitara to the Mayo river, the modern limit between Nariño and Cauca. The political situation of the Pastos was a typical Andean culture: a chieftain was in charge of a group, and the adult males of the tribes were the ones with political and economic power.

(...) this communal hierarchy is a continuation of the pre-Columbian structure of 'major' and 'minor' ethnic realms or chiefdoms, to which the colonial and republican administrations simply blend or bound into an imposed structure (....) (Guzmán 2000, online)

They had to respond to the Chieftain and would be in charge of leading any group into war. Women would help to work the earth and had to stay at home with the children. The housing system in the Pasto nation was accumulated among different *bohios* (hut) which were built in groups and separated from one another. They were made up of mud walls and had a small hole that served as a chimney. Most villages would have around 20 huts. They would use irrigation and draining techniques to plant and harvest different products. We have already mentioned corn, but we can add here some other grains such as peas, beans and potatoes. Pastos, as other similar ethnicities in the Andes, would have Guinea pigs, a

tradition that is still present up to this day. Archeological findings have pointed out the custom of burying several individuals in one single vault. Along with sepulchers, the Pastos had a very extensive and large collection and production of ceramic objects and gold pieces. The Pasto was a solar culture that praised the Sun and worshipped the dead. This identification of multiple nature phenomena was later adapted to the adoption of Roman Catholicism. While the ancient Pasto religion is dead, there are still traces that may be found by scholars as Grijalva, who investigated several archeological locations. The treasure of the Pasto smiths is still available in the *Banco de la República* of Bogota, where the Gold museum is located. We have chosen several examples of Pasto art in ceramics, gold and silver plate in order to show the beautiful pre-Hispanic culture that once thrived in the northern Andean region of Ecuador and southern Colombia.



**Graphic 8:** Gold, plate and ceramic artifacts found in different places of the Pasto Plateau  
(Banco de la República, Online)

The Pastos had a very strong interchange with the Caras south of the Chota River, which, according to Jijón y Caamaño, was the southern limit of the Pasto country. This is why today there is a sign that reads “Welcome to Carchi, land of the Pastos”. By the time the Incas arrived in Colombia, the Pastos had been preparing for an offensive that took place at the battle of Yahuarcocha (Avilés Pino, online) where thousands of Caras and Pastos were sacrificed by Huayna-Capac, the ruling Inca of that time (1487). The Pastos had an extensive ceramic work that is still present in the traditions of the people of Tulcan and Ipiales. Among other traditions is the continued presence of *resguardos* (reserves). These *resguardos* are represented by the leaders of the community who share the faculty of being considered as equal as any mayor of any city. Next to Ipiales there is the Cumbal indigenous reserve also located next to the town of Tufiño in Ecuador. Despite not having their own, the Pasto indigenous population of Nariño is recognized as one of the multiple ethnicities (nominally) protected by the Colombian state. However, this does not happen in Ecuador where the criteria of “not having an indigenous language does not make you indigenous”. Perhaps this will change in the future in order to fully show the ethnic diversity of Ecuador and its riches.

## **ii. Spanish Conquest and Colonial Period**

In 1530 Francisco Pizarro led his war against Atahualpa, the last ruling Inca emperor of the Tawantinsuyu. One of his lieutenants, Sebastian de Belalcazar, took into his hands the task of conquering the southern portion of Colombia and all of Ecuador. When Belalcazar entered the land of the Cañaris, he teamed up with them to fight back Orominavi or Rumiñahui, last of the Inca generals in this land, and, finally, defeated him at the battle of Tiocajas. In the year of 1534, San Francisco de Quito was founded by conqueror Sebastian de Belalcazar. He then moved north, crossed surpassed the Chota River and entered into the Pasto Plateau. Some commanders, Diego de Tapia, Pedro de Añazco and Juan de Ampudia were in charge of delimiting the new territories. By 1580 there was no trace of a foundation

date of either Ipiales or Tulcan. The Rumichaca was the natural border between the Royal Audience of Quito and the Audience of Popayan. Despite being attached to a northern city, the government of Pasto was physically isolated from the rest of colonial Colombia, which was called New Grenada. It was Quito who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole province of Pasto, to which it had to answer. This was a very important fact because Pasto and Quito were physically connected through, what today is, the Pan-American Highway, and the cultural and social development of the Province of the former was headed towards the latter. It was here, in the Rumichaca, along the Guaitara River, where the *de facto* border between the provinces of Popayán and Quito was. The most important aspect of this period is the strong roots that grew among the population towards the Catholic Church. The Nariño Department and the Carchi region were strongholds of royalists who had a very high respect for the king and the indigenous groups saw him (the king) as the benefactor who had granted them the lands in which they lived. Again, Ipiales and Tulcan were merely small towns that had strong participation in the commerce between Pasto and Quito. The colonial society was divided among different ethnic groups, with the *Spaniards* or *Chapetones* being the dominant ruling class. This is reflected in the Pasto conception of power displacement from one point to another. The superiority of air over earth would be:

(...) this sharing of power, spaces and times, link them inside the communal memory of the *White* domination, to whom was the right of ruling the world-, space-time-power came from the *above*, contrary to the Indigenous, who had to get lost or bury themselves in the world of *beneath*, in such special places (enchanted hills), like *Guel*, Mundo Nuevo, Pueblo Viejo, all of them located in linear spaces near the highlands or the creeks and the *guaicos*. These places are rich in treasures where the infidels buried themselves alive. Treasures and infidels that will appear again at the end of times, which some say will be the year two thousand (...) (Guzmán, 2000: online)



The *Criollos* were the children of Spanish families born in the Americas and they held actual power in the colonies. The *Mestizos* were second-class citizens who tried to reach the higher classes by adopting nobiliary titles or by obtaining academic/professional titles in the University of Quito. The Indigenous groups were an oppressed class who were confined to their own *resguardos* (reserves). In the province of Pasto, it is clear that chieftains obtained official recognition from the Spanish state as legitimate owners of their lands. This is the origin of this old institution still present in Colombia. Despite being oppressed by Spaniards, the Indigenous groups of the area developed strong ties with the Catholic Church, with whom they formed an alliance: the Catholic Church would defend the rights of the indigenous groups and in exchange they would faithfully serve the King (Enciclopedia del Ecuador, 1988:24). These mechanisms of domination can explain why Pasto remained faithful to Spain. Yet, Ipiales and Tulcan, despite having strong ties to the Catholic Church, developed their own private societies with the purpose of conspiring with other major Juntas in both the north and south of this province in order to achieve full independence.

### **iii. Independence, Foreign wars and the Colombian Civil war**

This was one of the most violent periods of the history of the border. Quito became independent in 1809 and the first step to be taken by the Junta was to send an army to capture Pasto, which was then in the hands of royalists loyal to Spain. The Quitoan army was defeated near the location of Funes, but the province of Pasto remained as a source of conflict between Colombia and Ecuador. The most important event of this era is the staunch opposition of the province of Pasto against the independent desires of both Quito and Bogota. Ipiales and Tulcan both saw insurrections in their respective cities that aimed at overthrowing the Spanish power of the region, but, both were unsuccessful. The figure of Antonio Jose de Sucre successfully defeated the Spanish armies in the sack of Pasto (1824) and was able to impose the law of the newly created Republic of (Great) Colombia. By 1830, Ecuador had decided to break away from the Union of Colombia, formalizing its

desire to incorporate the province of Pasto into its territories. From 1830-32, Ecuador and the republic of New Grenada (modern Colombia) fought a war that ended with the treaty of Pasto. President Juan Jose Flores and President Jose Maria Obando recognized the border of Colombia and Ecuador on the Guaitara/Carchi River. Nevertheless, this treaty did not end the aspirations of Ecuador to recover the former ecclesiastic province of Pasto. In 1861, Ecuador, under the presidency of Dr. Gabriel Garcia Moreno, fought a small conflict against the Conservative Party of Colombia. Ipiales became the southernmost city of Colombia and saw the conflicts of the Liberal Revolution of Ecuador (Avilés Pino, 2005) which affected the Thousand Day-War of Colombia. By the 1980, Colombia was immersed in a period of civil war between three main participants: the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC), the Colombian State and the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia*, a paramilitary faction. These three groups take on a fundamental part in the conflict of Colombia. In recent years, this conflict has moved to the border areas of Ecuador. Among the places under fire are Tumaco, in the Nariño-Esmeraldas border, Cumbal, La Victoria, Potosi and Tallambí (Lauret, 2009:100-101). Both paramilitaries and left-wing guerillas are still present and control drug traffic flow along the border.

## b. Border Dynamicity and conceptual background



**Graphic 9:** The complete Colombian-Ecuadorian border of 586 kilometers  
(Cancillería Colombiana, online)

When we want to identify specific portions of land inhabited by individuals, we have to be precise on the area to be studied. Defining a border and its studies is no easy task. Literature on such subject is rather scarce, so we have chosen the work of Sanders Lauret *La frontera Norte ecuatoriana ante la influencia del conflicto colombiano* (2009). Since most of the investigation was carried out in Span

ish, we had a problem when translating the term '*frontera*' into English because of multiple meanings found in such word. This problematic situation is investigated by Lauret (2009:20) when the author points out several differences for translating such terms to English. We found three different ways of identifying a "border": *boundary*, *border* and *frontier*. For

this author, the differences are clear. Whereas *boundary* represents in anthropology a wider concept of separation of cultures and nationalities, *border* represents a physiological aspect of the division of two nations. *Frontier* is only applicable to those *colonists* who started a process of colonizing and discovering lands, as the colonization of the western United States or the *Paisa* colonists of central Colombia. We have identified the Colombian-Ecuadorian border in the border crossing of Rumichaca. Although this is the border pass, there is no actual *boundary* because, as we will read below, the boundary is limited to simple influences by TV or by other factors from one country to another, but as far as vocabulary usage in this area, differences are minimal. Therefore, the *boundary* is limited only to certain aspects of Colombian or Ecuadorian terms used by the population interviewed. Inside the *borderland* definition Lauret distinguishes between *border heartland*, *intermediate borderland* and *outer borderland*. The *border heartland* is the area directly connected to the boundary limit. The *intermediate borderland* is an area where the influence of the border is still present but less than in the former. Finally, the *outer borderland* is a region where the influence of the border is felt very little or similarly to other interior regions of the country. Clearly, we see a *border heartland* situation, directly linked to the border.

#### **i. Towards a peripheral perspective of boundary studies**

In the XX and XXI centuries we have witnessed the creation of the so-called ‘nation-states’, which attempts to strengthen the position of national states in regards to every aspect of human life. This is why Lauret points out clearly the problem of the Awa indigenous groups who are trapped between Ecuador and Colombia, and we say ‘trapped’ because their territories do not have any kind of paved road or direct communications with the ‘populated areas’. The Awá indigenous groups are some of the last aborigines that have maintained their own language and cultural way of living, but since they are concentrated in Colombia, the problem of the guerillas and paramilitary groups has forced this ethnic group to move towards the provincial border of Esmeraldas/Carchi with Nariño. For these people, the border

does not represent anything concerning their own identity, but is merely an imposition of a modern 'citizenship' concept of belonging to one country –or shall we say 'state' - or another. Lauret tells us how the border is, most of the time, an invisible zone which has been designed arbitrarily without thinking about the consequences to the inhabitants of the region. The position of recent governments of focusing on the border areas responds only to the increase of the Colombian conflict every year. This means that, as the Colombian army has expelled the guerilla groups (FARC, ELN) and paramilitary bands (Águilas Negras) from central Colombia to the peripheral lands of the Colombian nation, the border of this country has seen an increase in drug trafficking and violence. Ecuador, according to Egas, has devoted itself to securing the borders in the most extensive and unreachable areas of the boundary. Esmeraldas, eastern and western Carchi and the province of Sucumbios are some of the areas that have seen an increase in insecurity and violence, as well as drug trafficking, but it is only recently that the Ecuadorian state has decided to establish outposts and military garrisons as well as paved roads in order to help the people that belong to these communities.

## **ii. Controlling the border**

There is a long story regarding border disputes in Latin America. Lauret (2009:26) explains how Simon Bolivar, the forefather of the (great) Colombian nation inherited the concept of *uti possidetis juri* from the Spanish colonial government and adapted the former viceroalties' borders to the newly created states. This had long-term consequences, as it was an era of chaos and anarchy and its conflicts continue to this day. For example, Ecuador and Peru had a long standing conflict regarding their own borders which led them to fight four wars until 1998, and Colombia and Nicaragua still face problems regarding the concession of former Colombian territorial waters of the Caribbean to Nicaragua. Likewise, Chile, Peru and Bolivia are still fighting to define their own borders as a direct consequence of the 'War of the Pacific', which stripped Bolivia of its littoral ones and segregated the cities of Iquique and Arica from Peru. The border is a direct expression of the limits of state power. The

border has always been seen as the point in which there is interdependence between states. Lauret tells us that:

Globalization processes have shown that the border is the quintessential place for momentous transformations in the State: the raise of international commerce, international migration, international crime, as well as environmental issues. (2009:29-30)

The border-line is considered a strict division between national interests defended by 'nation-states' which guarantee its own existence. These factors constitute the basis for economic, social and political development. They tend to vary because they are social constructions that are in constant change and evolution.

### **iii. The border as a territorial meeting of social identities**

Lauret follows a constructivist axis (2009:34-35). The author talks about the most important points of conducting an investigation regarding social entities. *Knowledge* and *reality* are directly influenced by discourse and language. This process defines *epistemic* communities that eject direct and decisive power over the political spectrum. For example, war on drugs or war on terror represent current policies in Colombia by direct influence of the American government. The current reality of international reality is rejected by constructivists who see it as a transitory process rather than a definite state of things. For a constructivist, it is important to detach the territorial-state aspect from the border in order to be able to bring the "territorial encounter" of different social constructions which have been built by individuals who inhabit a determined territory (Lauret 2009:34-35).



#### iv. Conclusion

We have identified the patterns to be taken into account when discussing a border. Before, we mentioned the different traits and characteristics of the area to be studied, in which the Tulcan-Ipiales border area is a *border heartland* which has surpassed different state-based restrictions and impositions. In order to go deeper into this subject, it is time to take an overview of the area regarding non-linguistic aspects such as economic and social background.

#### c. Cultural and economic boundaries in the Colombian-Ecuadorian border

##### i. The Andean border region of Colombia and Ecuador



**Graphic 10:** Map of the Colombian Ecuadorian Border in the Andean area (Google Earth 2014 Caption)

The proximity between Tulcan and Ipiales is less than 10 kilometers. The expansion of both cities is pushing towards the integration of both urban areas into a single one. Tulcan and Ipiales are bordered by multiple creeks and several volcanoes, as can be observed in the above graphic. The volcano Chiles marks the border between both countries along with the Guaitara/Carchi River.



**Graphic 11:** The volcano, Cumbal, seen from the city of Tulcan (Cumbal is in Colombia).

Can we really say there is a difference between both nations? From the interviewed, it is estimated that almost every individual, whether Colombian or Ecuadorean, have at least one recent relative in either side of the border. Lauret (2009:22) points out:

(...) it is very common to find in *borderlands* government efforts to forge a unified nation shattered against impossibilities of separating identities that transcend the border line (...)

When we identify a certain group, in our case the people of the highlands of northern Ecuador and southern Colombia, we cannot separate them merely with a border. This happens thanks to integration that has been a key policy of the region. This border area has different problems, but it is much more successful in comparison with other areas, such



as the Turkish-Armenian border. Egas quotes Tulcan former Mayor Julio Robles on social dynamics:

Our relationship goes beyond the border; our relationship goes beyond good friendship, historical customs. Our relation goes even into family contexts, in the sense that when I go to Ipiales, I don't feel that I am in another city or in another country, even if it's the case. This happens from the other side, because I know that my colleague Gustavo Estupiñán, Mayor of Ipiales, loves to have lunch in Tulcán, and we love going to Ipiales to eat the famous *colored meat* dish of this city. (2009: p. 22).

This kind of relationship would not be possible if there was any kind of impediment to which citizens would not be able to fraternize with the vicinity. This aspect of sharing familiarities and even other aspects of daily life as baptisms or New Year celebrations is clearer in the rural area. Lauret gives a clear example:

It is noon and Sunday quiet is already broken. Today is the day in which around twenty Colombian and Ecuadorian youngsters will be baptized. Little by little, people arrive from all around the area, especially from Tallambí, the nearby Colombian *vereda* (rural division). There is no one around here that does not have some family “in the other side” of the border. When the ceremony is over, nobody says goodbye, because everyone wants to take part of the great “bi-national” dance party that lasts after midnight. (2009: 100)

*El Chical* is a small parish located in the north-west of the province of Carchi, but it is located right next to the *vereda*, or administrative division of Colombia, of Tallambí. Most inhabitants are much more related to one another since there is a very small border pass and the bonds between the two communities are quite clear. Despite this beautiful example of

integration, the Ecuadorian society is still full of prejudice. Lauret tells us of the problem of a Colombian family who fled to Mira, south of the province, searching for a better life and fleeing the conflict only to be mistreated and declared 'non-grata' by some citizens of this town just because they were Colombian. There is a clear sentiment of distrust of Colombian citizens with the prejudice that they are mostly thieves and murderers, that their presence means there is no security or reason to be safe (2009:114). The investigator was able to see this prejudice for himself on multiple occasions in which the citizenship of many delinquents was abused instead of understanding that the thief or lowlife who had committed the crime did not represent the vast majority of Colombians, but a tiny minority that may be found anywhere in the world. Despite these negative aspects of the Ecuadorian society, the people of Chical were eager to host any Colombian refugee. Most inhabitants expressed their dissatisfaction to Lauret, pointing out the very small number of organizations willing to help improve the situation of this parish and help relocate or provide those refugees who had fled Colombia with safety measures. 'Es lógico que tengamos las puertas abiertas a nuestros familiares y amigos colombianos, aunque nuestras casas apenas estén aptas'. This is the most common feeling of the people from communities like El Chical, Maldonado, Tufiño or El Carmelo, all of them in the border area, directly influenced by the dynamicity of it.

## **ii. Economic and Social conditions of the Colombian-Ecuadorian border**

We have mentioned before the economic and social conditions of Tulcan and Ipiales: According to the treaty of 1830, the limit between both republics would be established on the Guaitara/Carchi River (Egas, 2010:05). Currently, Tulcan and Ipiales hold an extensive trade and commercial interchange due to their condition as border cities:

Colombia is the second commercial partner of Ecuador, and its importance cannot only be measured quantitatively speaking, but qualitatively speaking. Part of the Ecuadorian exporting towards the northern neighbor

is manufactured goods with high added value. That way, Ecuador exported around \$ 775.283.000 towards Colombia only in 2008. (Egas 2010:17)

Tulcan is considered Colombia's supermarket, a factor that was boosted after the dollarization process took place in Ecuador and that is currently supported by illegal commerce. Smuggled goods and gas are another very important economic factor, since gas is considered a very expensive product in Colombia. Tulcan has become the gate for gas smuggling, since cheap prices are common in Ecuador but not in our northern neighbor (Andes, 2013). Such factors provoked a reaction in Ecuador: certain bans in commerce transportation and difficulties in commercial interchange. This was changed in the late 1990s and early 2000s when Ecuador adopted the U.S. Dollar as the national currency. There was a reversed process on the economic border:

In the 1990s, Tulcan was a major provisioning location for Colombians. Nevertheless, this commercial boom ended when Ecuador adopted the Dollar as a national currency. This process turned upside down, and Ecuadorian goods became more expensive, On the contrary, importing Colombian goods turned to be much more attractive. Ipiales became the economic center for Ecuadorians who travel even from the capital in order to acquire Colombian products. (Egas, 2010:18)

This is factual when we see the dynamicity of the border areas as with Tulcan. There is another factor that is quite perceptible in Tulcan, but is exemplified by Lauret: in both El Carmelo or Maldonado there is a necessity of farm working opportunities, of which inhabitants of the nearby '*veredas*' in Colombia are taking advantage. Every day, Lauret says, there are multiple trucks transporting day laborers from Colombia into Ecuador. There is a significant reason for this. Most Ecuadorian workers earn five dollars (\$5.00) every day, whereas Colombian workers will get only five thousand pesos (P. 5.000), which, at

the current exchange rate is only half that. It is both beneficial to Colombian workers and to farm owners. This happens due to a traditional absence of control in most of the border areas, counted by Egas as more than 123 places of illegal crossings between Ecuador and Colombia (Lauret, 2009:161).

### **iii. Effects of the Colombian Civil war**

Every border is subject to phenomena that take place in the other country. Lauret tells us about it. The border has always been seen as a highly susceptible area for non-desired processes and foreign affairs (2009:29). The effects of the *Plan Colombia* have been felt in the Andean border area which has seen an increase both in violence and extortion. Egas (2010) estimates that “there are around 135.000 – 1% of Ecuadorian population- those Colombians who need international protection in the country. It is absolutely necessary to study the situation of these people and the impact of displacement in Ecuadorian population (p. 24). This information of the UN Commissioner in the area (Egas, 2010: 12) means that there is a very strong presence of Colombians in the area. Tulcan is considered the city with the largest number of refugees and it is still receiving them as part of the reactivation of the Colombian conflict. Some of the side effects of the border include pesticide usage, problems in harvesting or others. Some of these effects are explained by Lauret when mentioning the dimensions of drug production in the border, to a degree by which multiple individuals in Colombia and Ecuador have been affected. Ecuador y Colombia lack binational common development policies both in bi-national and border areas. While diplomatic relations stay restrained and are not regulated, it will be harder to design a common plan. (Egas, 2010:14)

As Egas mentions, the border is still considered a dangerous place by some authorities. That is what Lauret experienced when approaching rural areas, in which he was advised to be careful wherever he went. The Ecuadorian state has given top priority to certain phenomena that we mentioned before, such as illegal border crossings or smuggling. Despite this

advance in regional issues thanks to Rafael Correa's government, Ecuador is still following abstinence in order not to be involved in the Colombian conflict:

Despite an increase in drug trafficking which potentiated violence on a national level, Ecuador has followed the non-intervention policy because doing so would mean that the Colombian conflict could be imported. Nevertheless, the Ecuadorian position has strengthened after the Angostura bombing. The policy of the Ecuadorian President, Correa, consists in "exerting sovereignty in the border territory, meaning, exclude illegal armed bands, despite not being classified as terrorists. (Egas, 2010:20)

This policy has at least allowed the entrance of the Ecuadorian state in certain areas where there was previously no presence of anyone. That is the example of El Chical, north-west Carchi, where only recently the population was able to buy an antenna in order to get Ecuadorian TV channels. Lauret was able to find out that most of the inhabitants of El Chical listen and watch only to Colombian TV/radio stations and most of the people in that town were very much isolated. This isolation allowed such irregular groups as guerrillas to enter these locations and be in charge of guaranteeing no cooperation between inhabitants of the neighboring Colombian *veredas* and Colombian authorities, and by doing so, setting up a reign of terror over the Ecuadorian populations that are next to the border. In places like Tufiño or Maldonado, which are next to other Colombian populations, this was the rule in the late 1990s and early 2000s, at the height of the Colombian refugee crisis. These are some of the effects still felt in the region.

#### **iv. Effects on the Awa population**

It is important to mention the problem that the Awa indigenous population is facing because of the conflict between Colombia and the paramilitary and guerilla factions. This indigenous group inhabits the Nariño and Putumayo departments and the provinces of

Carchi, Esmeraldas and Sucumbios. Currently there are about 3,082 speakers of Awa, better known as *Awá-Pit Kwaiker*. This language belongs to the Barbacoan languages and, as we will mention later, it is linked to the ancient Pasto language. The main problems that the Awa experience on the border consist of violence, displacement and constant migratory trends towards the border. Let us take a wider perspective:

The Colombian conflict deeply affects indigenous communities living on the border. According to numbers of the National Indigenous Organization-ONIC, around 17,000 indigenous people suffered direct violation of their human rights or suffered from violations of International Humanitarian Law in the first months (...). We must highlight the Awá community, which is located in the Ecuadorian-Colombian border. On February, 2010, FARC admitted having killed eight Awá indigenous persons since they considered that these people had been leaking information to the Army regarding the presence of guerillas in the area. So the FARC command killed them. The Awá community claims more than twenty dead. (Egas, 2010:27).

These lines tell us of a big problem taking place within the borders of Ecuador. This happens because most of the Awa are direct victims of the conflict. Most of the time, most people face retaliations from the illegal armed groups for collaborating or giving information to the public forces. In other locations, such as in El Chical or Maldonado in Carchi, Lauret mentions the active presence of guerilla fighters and paramilitary armed men among the civil population, whose role consists in keeping an eye on the population. Only in 2013, the *Unidad Indígena del Pueblo Awá* denounced the intrusion of Colombian armed forces into several communities causing forced displacement in their website:

Last March 12<sup>th</sup>, 2013, 6 families integrated by 26 people belonging to the Awá indigenous community of Gadual Sábalo in the location of Gran Sábalo,

had to take refuge in the local school in order to protect themselves. They had to return to their homes on March 15<sup>th</sup>, due to lack of humanitarian attention. Boys and girls, children, were the most affected by this action, and who are the first victims of the conflict that devastates our country, because it affects a good physical, psychological, cultural and spiritual development of those who are the future of this nation and those in charge of keeping the ancestral traditions of the Awá peoples. (March, 2013: online)

The intrusion of external elements into Awá territorial lands constitutes a big problem and a threat to national security because it is targeting citizens of both countries. Nevertheless, there are hardly any safe measures taken by local governments to enforce protection and help individuals to get rid of violence.

## **v. Conclusion**

We mentioned before the necessity of tracing back those aspects that have built identities and regions in the area. This is the case of the Colombian-Ecuadorian border, a region that, despite being relatively tranquil, is still facing challenges such as mobility, refugee displacement and economic development. The Ecuadorian and Colombian governments, in the way of most governments in Latin America, care only about these areas because of the high international traffic and movement of goods and other imports or exports as well as entrance of tourists (one of the most successful industries in Ecuador), as well displacement of populations. We have given an extensive yet relatively short account on the history and current situation of the border and now it is time to deal with linguistic reality in this area. We focused only on the highland area and we will talk only about Spanish with two direct influences, Kichwa and Pasto.

#### **d. Languages in the Colombian-Ecuadorian Border**

##### **i. Introduction**

In the following section we have included a small analysis of the current state of languages in the border area as well as a small analysis on the extinct Pasto language. Spanish and Kichwa have been by far the longest surviving languages of this geographic area. For author Cerrón-Palomino (2001):

The *Andinization* of Spanish is a process that can be traced long ago and which has not concluded (...) and not every grammatical level is affected in the same way inside this process: corrective inducted processes (...) are in charge of leveling Andean Spanish by turning it closer to the regional norm. There are (...) powerful cognitive forces that (...) can filter the speech of Spanish monolinguals, like morphological or semantic elements that (...) give an Andean flavor to the Spanish used in the region. By doing so, the accidental nature of this variation is blended without much notice.

The *Andinization* of Spanish is a long process that traces back to the early days of the conquest of America by European colonialist forces. Nowadays, this is still in motion due to modern laws protecting Indigenous reservations on Colombian and Ecuadorian soil and promotion of indigenous culture around the country. Despite the everlasting pressure of the so-called “civilization” over agricultural lifestyle, we have seen a more modern approach towards explaining alternative ways of living. In this step towards multiculturalism, we have chosen to investigate Spanish and Kichwa because both are alive and have a significant and trustworthy number of speakers in every area. Likewise, we have deemed it important to talk about the ancient inhabitants of this region and take a look into the Pasto language.



## **ii. Spanish in Ecuador and Colombia**

### **ii.a. Spanish in Ecuador**

Spanish in Ecuador is a very particular conglomerate of dialects. There is no uniformity and a common classification, although very vague and general, has separated Spanish into ‘coastal’ and ‘highlander’ variations. This is, of course, very general, and explains a tendency of thought regarding the mentality of Ecuadorian regionalism. Estrella (2009: 180) clearly explains that there is an extended idea that the Coastal variation is different from the highland variation. However, at least regarding lexicon, it is not. Estrella (2009) points out that most of the vocabulary used in Pichincha and Guayas, the most important provinces of the Coastal and Highland regions, are very similar in about 94%. In this section, we will discuss Ecuadorian Highland Spanish as well as southern Colombian Spanish, which belong to the Andean dialect of this language. According to Arboleda Toro between Argentina, Bolivia, Peru, Ecuador and Colombia, exists a socio-dialectal process that could be studied integrally with all the advantages derived from such deed going beyond political-administrative processes (1996:02). As such, Spanish has faced a “standardization” that turned out to be the imposition of a dialectal form which, in reality, is quite different by means of usage. Regarding the nature of Spanish in Ecuador, Azucena Palacios explains that:

Andean Spanish is an heterogenic variety of Spanish that is spoken in the Ecuadorian Highlands with a common base and proper characteristics that emerged around sociolinguistic factors such as rural or urban origin of the informant, instruction level and, above all, the monolingual or bilingual identity of the individual; if they are symmetrical or coordinated, consecutive or instrumental speakers; if they are native speakers of Quichua or Spanish. (2005:03)

Ecuador, as most of the Andean region, has seen an extensive contact between Kichwa and Spanish and, because of this, we can talk about “Andean Spanish”. Rivarola (2000b: 13)

in Estrella (2009:149) says that Andean Spanish is not the variety spoken in Ecuador, Peru or Bolivia, but rather the variety spoken in the ‘areas in which Spanish has been living side by side and still does with major Indigenous languages’.

What we are going to mention is just a few generalities pointed out by Humberto Toscano in his article *El Español hablado en Ecuador* (1964), where the author gives a general account on characteristics of Ecuadorian Spanish and tries to point out that some formations might have an indigenous origin as a product of syncretism between the European language we are discussing and Kichwa. We want to point out that in verbal productions, Ecuadorian Spanish presents a wide use of periphrastical forms like *he de ir* (I shall go) which has replaced verbal formation of simple future. Otherwise, simple future stands as an imperative form, especially in Kichwa influenced areas. Present perfect has the same effect as both present tense and future tense when indicating surprise or acquaintance of something new, like:

- *<este año ha sido bisiesto>* (this is a leap year)

- *<El domingo próximo ha habido fútbol (y yo no lo sabía)>* (next Sunday there is a soccer match and I didn’t know it)

The usage of gerunds in Kichwa seems to be another export in Highland Spanish, as pointed out in the following:

Another characteristic of Andean Ecuadorian Spanish is the abundance of gerund construction that departs from the standard norm of Spanish, both in form and meaning. The most significant construction indicates perfect gerund (...) in which there is a movement verb and a gerund. Both verbs are semantically significant; they do not form periphrasis which might imply two consecutive events (...) and the event (...) has already finished before that of the conjugated verb. Both events are consecutive and are not distant from each other. (Palacios, 2011:47)

These gerund uses are emphasized by Toscano (1964:121) when he mentions that gerund forms are translated literally from Kichwa to Spanish gerund forms are widely used in Highland Spanish. Haboud (1998:204) gives some other examples: “*viene durmiendo, por eso está tranquilo; siempre regresa comiendo, por eso no quiere nada; me voy limpiando la casa y ni siquiera dice gracias(...)*).

Among other periphrastic forms mentioned by Toscano, we find that there are literal forms like *déme haciendo* and *dame teniendo un ratito*, where there is a presence of traditional Kichwa gerund formation. Among pronominal usage, Toscano distinguishes between two Spanish formations: *lo* and *le*. In the Coastal region as well as southern Ecuador, the usage of *lo* is generalized in sentences like *lo conozco*. On the contrary, central Highland Spanish takes *le* as the pronominal rule in *le digo un chisme*. It is important to point out that in the central northern Andean region, the usage of double pronominal formations is contrary to the Coastal region: *te lo dije (I told you)* in the coast and southern Ecuador regions is transformed into *te dije (I told you)* avoiding the usage of the *lo* pronoun. At the Colombian border, the presence of the use of *lo* and *le* can mark the difference in dialects. Spanish speakers of the Ecuadorian-Colombian border have incorporated certain morphological, syntactical and semantical features. Toscano mentions a couple of interjections incorporated into Spanish:

**-achachay:** cold

**-arrarray:** hot

**-aayayay:** pain

**-atatay:** disgust

**-astaray:** hot, in Southern Ecuador

For Palacios, the extensive use of diminutives is another sign of influence of Kichwa, since there are morphological variations that are not possible in other dialects of Spanish:

**-subject-pronouns:** *elliita; yocito*

**-demonstrative pronouns:** *estito*

**-adverbs:** *acacito*

It would take much longer to define and specify how Spanish developed in the Andean area, but after showing similarities in both *Nariñense* Spanish and *Serrano* (*Ecuadorian highlands*) Spanish, we can better understand how similar they are.

## ii.b. Spanish in Colombia

Colombia is a country with multiple dialects of Spanish which have seen an extensive research in recent times. As we saw before, the existence of the ALEC (*Atlas Lingüístico de Colombia*) is a major point in the development of studies of American Spanish. The differences among Colombian dialects are quite extensive and demand proper discussions on the differences that can be found. Among the most important classification typology used by several scholars, we have considered to summarize in the following chart the Spanish language in Colombia:

<b>northern???</b>	<b>cartagenero</b>	<b>samario</b>	<b>guajiro</b>
<b>southern???</b>	<b>Rural Coast accent of the Caribbean inland</b>		
<b>Middle-Western Colombia</b>	<b>Middle-Eastern Colombia</b>		
<b>"Antioqueno, paisa, valluno"</b>	<b>narinense, caucano</b>	<b>tolimense huilense</b>	<b>Cundi boyacense</b>
			<b>Santanderean</b>

**Graphic 12:** Dialectal Classification of Colombia. (Montes Giraldo, 2000:57)

This classification is very general, yet, it helps us to locate the Nariño dialect, which is the one in this case to be examined in the range of wider Andean dialects. In this chart, the Andean region involves several specific dialects which are the result of multiple factors. Perhaps it is important to mention that the southern regions of Colombia (Nariño, Putumayo and Cauca) have one of the highest percentages of indigenous groups in the entire nation. This is the reason why they are classified into a single group. Nariño Spanish is part of the Andean Spanish phenomenon. This socio-dialectal process or cultural area (from Andean Spanish) includes several areas from various departments of the southwest of Colombia: Nariño and Putumayo, fundamentally, but also parts of Cauca, Huila and Caquetá departments. (Arboleda Toro, 1996:02) The author is clear on the expansion of Andean Spanish in the southern parts of Colombia. Nariño, as most of the Andean departments of Colombia, that is, Cauca, Valle del Cauca, Risaralda, Tolima, Caldas, Huila, Quindio, Cundinamarca, Boyaca, Antioquia, Norte de Santander and Santander, has registered the usage of Kichwa terms. In Nariño, there was a former situation where indigenous groups had to adapt to the imposition of Spanish. Arboleda Toro (1996:13) shows how in southern Colombian Spanish there are quite common morpho-syntactic traits:

**-Verb number in transitive utterances by impersonal *se*:** «Se cuestiona, de una manera soterrada, las prácticas en los templos», which is not common in other Spanish varieties such as in: «Se cuestionan, de una manera soterrada las prácticas en los templos».

**-Accentuation of complementary personal pronouns:** «No se olvide de nosotros; cuando vuelva venganós a visitar», against «vénganos a visitar».

**-Position of pronouns:** «Le voy a mandar una carta, usted también escribiráme», in comparison to «usted también me escribirá».

**-Contrastive omission of “they” in transitive utterances:** «Unos de aquí van a dar a Bogotá (bachilleres reclutados por el ejército); otros dejan en Pasto», against «unos de aquí van a dar a Bogotá, (a) otros los dejan en Pasto».

**-Usage of *le(s)*, *lo(s)*, *la(s)* after impersonal *se*:** «Al padre Castellví se lo considera acá un sabio», against «Al padre Castellví se le considera acá un sabio».

**-Appreciative suffixation:** y ¿éste vale cuantico? Acá ellitos son flojos. Yosita quiere un quimbolito. ¿Ustedcito quiere café?

**-Element duplication:** «Después breve breve pasé y me fui a sacar la moto», against «Después pasé muy rápido y me fui a sacar la moto».

**-Verbal forms :** «Juiciosa mi abuela, dejó tendiendo la cama», unlike «Dejó tendida la cama»>> .

**-Order of Elements in a utterance:** «Sí, eso haga», against «Sí, haga eso»; «Queremos todo andar dañando» unlike «Queremos andar dañando todo»; «-Don Tulio lo buscan. -¿Quién? -Un señor es», against «Es un señor», or simply «Un señor».

**-Double negation:** «Usted tampoco no tome», unlike «Usted tampoco tome».

**-Article omission:** «En molino me golpié», «Procesión está en la plaza» unlike «En el/un molino me golpié», «La procesión está en la plaza».

These differences exemplify certain similarities or differences between Andean Spanish of Ecuador and that of Colombia. Portilla Melo gives a couple of examples regarding the ‘evidenciality’ of Nariño’s Spanish with Kichwa. He gives several cases which we will review very briefly:

Quechua	CAN	CE
Allkumi	Perro es	Es un perro
Allkushi	Perro ha sido/ perro dezque es	Dicen que es un perro
Allkuchi	Un perro ha de ser	Tal vez se trate de un perro

**Graphic 13:** Grammatical Influence of Kichwa in Nariño Spanish (Portilla Melo, 2010:177)

This graphic explains the Kichwa pattern of expressing a sentence by merely translating word for word. This process does not show a Spanish pattern but shows certain aspects that Portilla Melo explains clearly: there is no concordance between adjective and noun, subject and verb and the presence of the topic marker *-qa*. The periphrastic mode is used here in order to express future result. Likewise, attaching the verb to the noun in a passive form is closer to Kichwa than to Spanish. Apparently, the isolation of the area has helped the Nariño department in south Colombia to preserve its own dialect, but at the same time, non-linguistic phenomena has taken place with elements like immigration and coexistence of linguistic realizations that could develop, in the absence of proper investigation into this topic, an interesting study on diachronicity on synchronicity following the model development of *Linguistic change in apparent moments*, developed by William Labov (Arboleda Toro 1996: 16).

### iii. Kichwa

Kichwa belongs to the *Quechua* linguistic family of the Andes. It was spread long before the Incas, who happened to be one of the many groups who used forms of this language across Peru. Quechua was used in its different forms as a *lingua franca* between the majoritarian Indigenous population and the dominant ruling Spanish aristocracy. It was the Catholic Church which made Quechua an instrument of Evangelization. For Rodríguez Rosales the Spanish Missionaries were a determinant factor in the process of linguistic transformation: they forced the implementation and diffusion of Quichua at the end of the XVI century since they had discovered an impressive linguistic diversity in the new continent (2012:02). Thus, it was the diffusion of Kichwa in the Ecuadorian Highlands, which ultimately allowed this language to be alive and still be used by large communities throughout the Ecuadorian Andes. Grimm (1896: V) points out the division of Quechua among three dialects: The *Chinchaysuyu* dialect (northern Peru), the *Cuzco* dialect and the *Quito* dialect. Among its differences we can observe that the Quito dialect is closer to the Cuzco dialect and that the former only has four primary vowels: **a**, **i**, **u**, and **o** is used very

rarely but **e** is not present. The Cuzco dialect has all vowels. Grim explains that around half a million indigenous people spoke Kichwa in 1896. According to Gualán (2008) there are around 15 million individuals in South America who speak this language, in which we can count the indigenous population of Ecuador. Its vitality was already in danger and Grim (1896: VII) explains that the influence of Spanish has boosted the decadence of usage in Kichwa. Additionally, Grim talks about the problem of having to use the Spanish alphabet with Kichwa, because certain phonemes cannot be properly expressed. For example, the letter **h** is used in front of a vowel. It demands a strong aspiration that may sound similar to **j** or undistinguishable, as in *japina* and *hapina* (take something, arrest). The usage of diphthongs such as **ua** and **ui**, with a strong aspiration has led to the confusion of writing *huahua* as *guagua* or substitute **h** with a **w**. B. Lee (1997:33) in Estrella (2009:144) points out the main traits of Kichwa:

- a) Loss of possessive mark
- b) Confluence between genitive and benefactive cases
- c) Substitution of infinitive *-y* for the concretizer *-na*.
- d) No distinction between inclusive plural form and exclusive plural form.
- e) Replacement of durative *-yka* by passive *-ku*.
- f) Replacement of reflexive *-ku* by inchoative *-ri*.

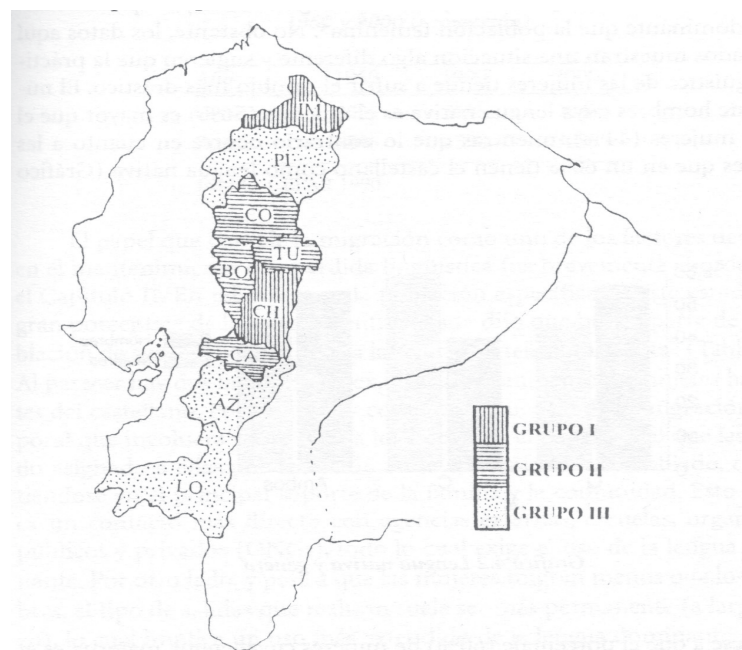
Kichwa is not an inflective but an agglutinative language because it is composed only of names and particles which are apocopate nouns. By placing particles at the end of a noun, declension cases mark number, time and mode of conjugation. Since the verb is the same thing as a noun, both become adjectives by placing them in front of another noun. If they stand alone, they are nouns. Verb conjugation is developed only into three: Present, Present Perfect and Future. Most of the other different time conjugations are substituted by the usage of infinitives, participles and respective particles as well as gerunds. As we can see it is a wide and complex language that deserves closer attention on certain aspects that will help



us better understand the complexity of such a language. Let us take a deep submersion into that complexity.

### iii.a. Classification of Quechua

The Andean region of Ecuador and Colombia constitute a linguistic block which has seen the superimposition of one language over another. Appel (1996:14) explains several situations of linguistic contact. Spanish, as the main and prestigious language used by the Crown of Castile during the colonization of the Americas, coexisted and coexists together with Kichwa, the native language of the Andean area of south Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, northern Chile and northern Argentina. Haboud explains the subdivisions of Kichwa in Ecuador. This language is still used by the vast majority of individuals in the Ecuadorian Highlands. Around 499, 292 individuals speak Kichwa in Ecuador (Proyecto Oralidad Modernidad). There are three groups in the Ecuadorian Highlands:



*Figura 4.1 Nichos lingüísticos en la Sierra ecuatoriana*

**Graphic 14:** Distribution of Kichwa in Ecuador (Haboud, 1998:93)

**Group I:** The first group includes Chimborazo and Imbabura and shares the highest percentage of usage (91% and 82% respectively). Haboud reminds us that Chimborazo is considered the Kichwa province of Ecuador by excellence, having the largest percentage of Kichwa speakers of the entire nation. Likewise, Imbabura has a more ambiguous composition of Kichwa speakers but the attitude towards Kichwa preservation has been the reason why this province is considered to be part of group I.

**Group II:** The second group includes the provinces of Cotopaxi, Bolivar, Tungurahua and Cañar. There are more than 50% of individuals who share Kichwa as their native language in this group.

**Group III:** This group includes the provinces of Azuay, Loja and Pichincha. These provinces present less than 50% of population who have Kichwa as their native language. It seems, according to Haboud, that the percentage of Spanish speakers in these provinces is rising to the detriment of Kichwa. It is important to point out that Cuenca, Loja and Quito are the respective capitals of these provinces, with Quito being the most populous city of the Ecuadorian highlands and the capital of Ecuador.

As we can see, there is a direct link between ethnicity and language. As those provinces with the highest percentages of Kichwa speakers happen to be those with highest percentages of indigenous communities, it is important to clarify this point. Appel (1996:25) discusses several approaches to the question on defining language and ethnicity: Fishman (1977) further points out several categories. *Paternity* is the acquired identity given to the individual by the parent. A second category used by Fishman talks about *patrimony*, that is, the cultural legacy of collectivity, pedagogy, music, clothes, sexual behavior or specific occupations. Finally, there is *phenomenology*, by which individuals share their own private identity as they recognize themselves as part of a specific group. Haboud (1998:55) explains that the criteria used in Ecuador to define ethnicity consist in linking the rural population to the indigenous groups and the urban areas to the White-mestizo groups. Even though this tendency is observable, it is important to specify that it is not the geographic region we are looking into, but the relations between the speakers of determined languages.

### *Noun-Subject*

Grim (1896:1-4) points out several characteristics of nouns of Kichwa. There is no indefinite article but instead the *cai* or *chai* demonstrative. As an indefinite article, we use *shuc* or *one* as in *shuc runa uillahuarcami* or *a man told me*. Gender in Kichwa is delimited by the suffix *cari* for masculine and *huarmi* for feminine as in *carihuahua*(boy) and *huarmi huahua*(girl). Yet it is used only to emphasize the gender difference. Likewise, there is no proper declension in most cases, because they are formed by using suffixes as in the following:

<b>Genitive:</b>	<i>pac</i> from, for	<i>umapac,</i>	from the head
<b>Dative:</b>	<i>man,</i> to	<i>umaman</i>	to the head
<b>Accusative:</b>	<i>ta</i>	<i>umata</i>	the head
<b>Ablative:</b>	<i>pi,</i> in	<i>umapi</i>	in the head
	<i>huan,</i> with	<i>umahuan</i>	with the head
	<i>manta</i> from, since, for	<i>umamanta</i>	from the head
	<i>raicu</i> because of	<i>umaraicu</i>	because of the head

As we can see, the usage of particles is quite extended in Kichwa. There are other particles that show plurality, as in *pura* and *huahuapura* (among the kids). For compound nouns we may as well combine two particles into one: *tiu* means sand, but if we repeat it twice *tiutiu*, it means dessert. The term *sapa* (abundant) is used to express a specific quality, as in *rumisapa* (many stones) or *tiusapa* (full of sand). On the contrary, for diminutives we may use *wuchuk*, which means *small*. We can divide this term into several particles which may mean the same thing, as *lla*, *cu hua*, as in, *huahualla*, *huahuacu*, *panihua* (small boy, little sister).

### *Adjective*

The adjective is invariable regarding declension or number: *hatun* (big), *hatun huasi* (big house), *hatun huasiman* (to the big house), *hatun huasicuna* (big houses), *hatun huasicunapac* (of the big houses). When substantivized, adjectives receive plural and declension particles, as in *allicunaca cushi causatami charin* (the good fellas have a happy life). Adjectives always precede the noun, as in *irki runa* (weak man), *mishki sara* (sweet corn), *mishki runa* (friendly man), *piña runa* (angry man).

### *Pronoun*

Personal pronouns are called *shutipak krantikuna*: *ñuka* (I), *Kan* (you), *kikin* (you, polite), *pay* (he, she), *nukanchik* (we), *kankuna* (you, plural), *kikinkuna* (you, plural, polite), *paykuna* (they). For possessive pronouns, the genitive of personal pronouns is used by attaching to it the suffix *-pak*, as in: *ñukapak* (mine), *kampak* (yours), *paipak* (his, hers), *ñukanchikpak* (ours).

### *Verb*

Cayapa (2005: 24) identifies only *transitive and intransitive verbs* as well as *ser, estar* and *quedar*. Verbs are formed according to Grimm (1896:9) by adding suffixes to the noun usage. As for example, *kuya-ni* (I love), *kuya-nki* (you love), *kuya-n* (he/she loves), *kuya-nchik* (we love), *kuya-nkichik* (you love, pl.), *kuya-nkuna* (they love). The formation of the gerund is performed by attaching the suffix *-shpa* to the noun, as in *kuya-shpa*. We have tried to show the most important features of Kichwa because this language has influenced the area of investigation and because of its contact with Spanish, we were able to find several terms of Kichwa origin.

### iii.b. Kichwa influence in southern Colombia and northern Ecuador

Grijalva (1998:29) has pointed out the influence of Kichwa in the northern areas of Ecuador and south of Colombia. It is interesting to see that most of the names found by Grijalva are quite common in Carchi and south of Nariño, Colombia, but not as common as one would think in the province of Imbabura, where it is still spoken. He says that:

(...) we will now show the list of Quichua names found as names of places in the área of study (...) in the provinces of Túquerres and Obando, there are many, as well as in the province of Carchi. This is a very interesting circumstance to point out, since they are not abundant in Imbabura, where Quichua is still spoken.

During this investigation, we were able to discover multiple terms that were linked to the Kichwa language still used by both *Carchenses* and *Ipialeños* which constitute the perfect example of the vitality of Kichwa terms in this particular area. Despite not having a Kichwa-speaking population in the Colombian southern Highlands, the inhabitants of the area use these terms as much as the ones on the Ecuadorian side. The following constructions are mentioned by Rodríguez(2012:5-10) as hybrid or complex terms which were investigated by this Colombian author on behalf of Kichwa usage in the Nariño department:

**-casapamba** from *casa* of Spanish and *pamba* of Kichwa,

**-pucaurco**, of *puca*, red, and *urco*, hill, and

**-rumichaca**, of *rumi*, stone, and *chaka*, bridge

Likewise, Grijalva explains some other terms that he found in the area, again, related to a locative usage. All of these terms were chosen from among a broader list responding to the requirement of being located in the province of Carchi in Ecuador or in the Nariño department in Colombia:

**Angas-Mayo:** Falcon River, as quoted by Cieza de Leon.

**Anga Pamba:** Falcon plains. It is located near Pinanru and Pimampiro town in the Carchi Province of Ecuador.

**Cari Yacu:** Water or stronghold. It is an hacienda near Bombona, in Pasto. Multiple rivers share this name, as Funes and Tangua, in the Department of Nariño, Colombia.

**Chaqui Lulo:** Landmark in the Pastas District, old Tuquerres province in the Department of Nariño, Colombia.

**Cucacho:** Landmark next to Orejuela in Huaca, Carchi.

**Churo:** Snail. It is a small hill in the plains of Pucara, Garcia Moreno, Carchi, Ecuador.

**Cumbal:** Colombian municipality located next to the Ecuadorian border town of Tufiño.

**Cucho:** Small landmark located next to Potosi, in the Department of Nariño, Colombia, and very close to Tulcan, in Ecuador.

**Chonta Hausi:** Former name of the town of Mira, which dates back to 1550.

**Inga Tola:** Small hill in the Ispingo hacienda, south of El Angel, Carchi, Ecuador.

**Machay:** Group of peaks on the Chiles volcano, right on the Ecuadorian-Colombian border.

**Muy Urcu:** Elevation in the highlands between El Angel and San Gabriel, in Carchi, Ecuador.

**Rumi-Chaca:** Stone Bridge. The most famous one is located on the Carchi/Guaitara river, right on the Colombian Ecuadorian border, but there is another bridge located on the Huaca river in San Gabriel, Carchi.

**Tulpas:** Small village in Puerres district in the old province of Obando, now the municipality of Ipiales, Nariño, Colombia.

**Quilla-Sic-Inga:** This is used for the aborigines of the Pasto area, as we mentioned before, and they share a common Kichwa name (probably named by the Incas).

This set of terms clearly exposes the influence of the Inca language over the area of investigation. As we mentioned in the historical section, the area of the Guaitara/Carchi River belonged to the Audience of Quito. This might be explained by the usage of certain terms that we will see later, such as *chimbudo* (have a pony tail) or *puendo*, terms that are still used by the population of the border area to designate Otavalo indigenous people or Ecuadorians. We believe we have performed a very brief but quite complete review on the Pasto language and the influences of Kichwa in the area of study.

### **iii.c. Kichwa and Spanish: languages in contact**

Linguistic contact produces bilingualism. Haboud analyzes this aspect by multiple approaches to this phenomenon, including linguistics, psycholinguistics or psychology. We are interested in the most important one: linguistic choice for a specific language according to linguistic and non-linguistic factors. Appel (1996:37) is clear on this: bilingualism is the norm, not the exception. The speakers are conditioned by their own necessities, immediate context and the experiences of the speaker which have to do with the speaker's relation to their social surroundings. Sanchez Parga (1992) in Haboud (1998:52) explains two concepts:

(...) ethnic bilingualism and *mestizo* bilingualism (...) the former describes the indigenous population that speaks Spanish as a second language (...) there are more probabilities that ethnic bilinguals will keep their original language than *mestizo* bilinguals who tend to discard it and represent a period of transition towards Spanish non-bilingualism, and therefore, although not necessarily, towards cultural mixture (...)

This becomes clear when the migratory trends are visible in major cities of Ecuador and even Colombia, where there is a significant Otavalo population of Kichwa speakers (Hernández Romero, 2007). The Otavalo case of Bogota is a clear example of preservation

of Kichwa in an isolated community. The Otavalos have preserved Kichwa as a sign of identity despite being surrounded and isolated in such a big city as Bogota. This is the same in Ecuador, but most of the time indigenous communities tend to be part of a phenomenon called *diglossia*. This means that the effects of prestige that took place due to the Spanish conquest, and later in the republic, forced most Kichwa speakers to see themselves as inferior or feel that they must hide their language in favor of the ruling class (Spanish). That way, Estrella points out the relations between Spanish and Kichwa as taking place in rural areas because in big cities like Quito or Guayaquil the population is monolingual. We have already mentioned that the vitality of Kichwa is well secured. As we mentioned before, the Andinization of Spanish is a process that results in the contact between these two languages which has not stopped, not even today. The most important aspect of Kichwa influence over Spanish is the usage of lexicon, by which every linguistic level –phonetics morphology, syntax, and semantics- is changed. We already saw some examples that were clear in the province of Carchi and the department of Nariño. According to Toscano (1953:37) any dialectal variety takes place on the morpho-syntactic level as well as in lexicon, even though it might seem that this is less possible if we talk of two different cities located in different countries, as in Ipiales and Tulcan. If we remember what authors said about the true nature of Andean Spanish, that is to say, locations in which Spanish was used together with Kichwa, we must identify which kind of linguistic contact was found in the Nariño area. In such a manner, Albor (1975) presents his experience regarding the situation of linguistic contact in the department of Nariño as far as back to 1968:

While I was staying in Pasto, back in 1968, I noticed that on several occasions, Indians in the city could barely communicate in Spanish in order to sell their products; in other occasions, I noticed they were bilinguals. While talking to locals, I got to know that there is an Indigenous community in Santiago, department of Putumayo. They speak the Inga dialect. In Nariño we could find another indigenous dialect in the town of Aponte. Both communities



claim to speak Kichwa. If so, we could think that these peoples speak Kichwa dialects. (...) if we think that the department of Nariño as well as other regions of southwestern Colombia once belonged to the Chinchaysuyu or northern region of the vast Inca Empire or Tawantinsuyu (...) In this department (Putumayo) as well as Nariño and in the Ecuadorian and Peruvian territories in which the Incas settled, they left traces of their language, the Quechua, in anthroponomy, locations, flora and fauna.

Albor points out the existence of isolated pockets of Kichwa speakers in the Nariño department who had a similar situation of Indigenous Ecuadorians in those days: being discriminated and facing difficulties in communicating in the dominant language. Likewise, the existence of a linguistic contact in Nariño is still regarded as a former phenomenon that is directly linked to an older contact. These examples mentioned by Albor can be a complement of another perception, by which the author, an academic of the National University of Colombia, explains that the Andean Spanish variety of Nariño has a different category in comparison to other variants in Ecuador, Peru or Bolivia:

*Nariñense* Spanish is a contact Spanish; it is different from other Andean varieties of the region, like Ecuador or Peru, where we can find bilingualism and survival of Quichua as a living language. This means that when talking about the *Nariñense* dialect we cannot think of a situation of language contact, as it happens in Bolivia, Ecuador or Peru (...) because the characteristics of *Nariñense* Spanish are not a consequence of a modern contact between Quichua and Spanish, but rather of a previous contact and survive as a linguistic substratum. (Portilla Melo, 2010: 168)

Portilla is clear: Nariño has experienced linguistic contact in the past, contrary to what happens in Ecuador, where Kichwa is still alive.

#### iv. Pasto languages

The origins of the Indigenous groups of northern Ecuador and southern Colombia have already been discussed before a historical brief of the area. We want to talk now about the linguistic aspects of this language. The zones of the Andean plateau in northern Ecuador were inhabited by several indigenous groups that would unify themselves against the advance of the Inca Empire. Grijalva (1998:60) points out the delimitations of the Pasto nation between the Guaytara and the Chota Rivers. This delimitation is very important, because it constitutes the range where ancient Pasto toponimic names can still be found. We do not know how they called themselves, for the term *quillacinga* is a Kichwa term that was used by the Incas and means *moon nose*. For Rodríguez Rosales (2012), the Spanish conquest of the ‘Pasto valley’ was the final process of a long social, cultural and linguistic mutation by forcing the usage of Kichwa instead of the local languages that were enforced in such places. It was the result of a useful way to Christianize and dominate the native population without exercising much cultural spoil, and rather adapting Christian theology and religion to their realities. This means that the long transformation and cultural and social change performed by the Spaniards in this area of the Andes affected the Pasto plateau in the same way it affected other regions of America. Grijalva (1998:90) specifies that there was little knowledge on this language. Several French scholars studied the final dispersion of the suffix *quer* and linked it to the *quero* term of the Kichwa dialect of Tungurahua, but Jijon and Caamaño were quick to point out this contradiction. Gonzales Suarez confused the languages of the Quillacinga and the Pasto, so it is necessary to distinguish between these two peoples who spoke similar languages which belonged to a similar linguistic family. Grijalva does not have any doubts: either the *Pasto* language belongs to the Chibcha or it is related to the Amazonian *Tukano* language or the *Tsafiki/Kayapa* subfamily of the *Barbacoano* linguistic family of southwestern Colombia and north-western Ecuador. For Colombian historian Sergio Elías Ortiz, quoted by Rodríguez(2012:05), the Pasto language of the primitive inhabitants of the region is a dead language, according to specialists, and has been so since the XVIII century. The

survival and latest form of investigation is found in locative names (Grijalva, 1998:175-77).

Certain affixes can trace back these extinct languages:

**-an** for locations, as in *Yarguarán, Caupuerán* (Nariño, Colombia)

**-chu** as in *Chucuanchala* (Carchi, Ecuador)

**-fuel** to point out rivers and creeks, as in *Indufuel* (Nariño, Colombia)

**-gual** as in *Gualmatán* (Nariño, Colombia)

**-iscal** for earthworm

**-pas** to common last names, as in *Carapás* (Ecuadorian last name)

**-pial** as in *Ipiales, Pupial*. (Nariño, Colombia)

**--pud** for locations, as in *Cuaspud* (Nariño, Colombia)

**-pue**, round as in *Buesaco* (Nariño, Colombia) or in *Pueputaquer* (Carchi, Ecuador)

**-quer** suffix referred to places as in *Tulcanquer*, ancient name of *Tulcan* (Carchi, Ecuador)

**-tal** for stone, as in *Puntal* (Carchi, Ecuador)

These last remnants of the ancient Pasto language found in landmarks and last names have led some scholars, like Grijalva, to reach certain conclusions. For this author (1998:260-271), the Pasto language was a split-off from the *Kayapa/Tsafiki* language because the provinces of Carchi and Imbabura, together with south Nariño, in Colombia, was inhabited by people of western origin (from Esmeraldas, the north-westernmost province of Ecuador). Grijalva is clear on this aspect: all of these conclusions are drawn from speculations and not from any clear proof that this is true. What does the author mean? That what scholars have found clearly points to an origin in the Barbacoano linguistic family and not to any other linguistic family that may be backtraced. Due to these problems, the Pasto language remains a mystery.

## V

### CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS BETWEEN IPIALES AND TULCAN

When the investigator conducted the current surveys, he encountered differences of human life which included aspects such as human being or daily life. We encountered 1,698 terms out of 340 questions (approximate number). This lexical corpus is divided into the following sections: *Human being, Dress, family and cycle of life, city and transportation, housing and housework, alimentation, occupations, parties, games and entertainment, education and weather and atmospheric phenomena*. Again, the numbers given above are an approximation and may vary depending on the number of responses obtained and suppression of certain questions that proved not to be relevant enough for the investigation as well as other questions that were considered more of a cultural interest than linguistic/lexical interest.

#### **a.- Classification**

- a.1.- We have separated each section into the mentioned semantic fields.
- a.2. We have mentioned first IpiALES, designated after the first entry as **I** and Tulcan as **T**.
- a.3 Next to each obtained term we have established the percentage of each location.
- a.4 It is important to remember that there were eight informants, four in IpiALES and four in Tulcan.

a.5. We have chosen to translate each term to be obtained in the analysis section in order to fully explain the object of the question. This was done to help any English-speaking reader to understand the meaning of each term without checking the meaning on a dictionary.

a.5. Those who did not answer were marked as **No Contesta** (*does not answer*).

## **b. Lexical Corpus**

### **i. The Human Being**

1.- Mestizo:

**Ipiates: mestizo (75%), criollo (25%)**

**Tulcán: mestizo (100%)**

2.- Costra:

**I: caracha (100%)**

**T: caracha (75%) no responde (25%)**

3.- Lunar

**I: lunares (50%) Pecas (50%)**

**T:lunares (100%)**

4.- Sarna

**I: sarna (75%) chandoso (25%)**

**T: carate (50%) salpullido (25%) sarna (25%)**

5- Cabeza:

**I: cabeza (62,5%) Totuma (37,5%)**

**T: cabeza (87,5%) Calabaza (12.5%)**

- 6.- Cabello
- I: cabello (50%) NC (50%)**
- T: cabello (50%) pelo (37,5%) greñas (12,5%)**
- 7.- Rizo
- I: churo (100%)**
- T: churo (83,33%) trenza (8,33%) mecha (8,33%)**
- 8.- Liso
- I: liso (87,5%) indio (12,5%)**
- T: lacio (62,5%) puyoso (25%) liso (12,5%)**
- 9.- Cana
- I: canoso (75%), cana (25%)**
- T: canoso (62,5) blanco(25%) cana (12,5%)**
- 10.- Con mucho pelo
- I: cabezón (25%) pelona (25%), mujer (25%), NC (25%)**
- T: pelón (50%), pelona (12,5%) tocte (12,5%) NC (25%)**
- 11.- Espinillas
- I: Barros (75%), espinillas (12,5%), pecas (12,%)**
- T: espinillas (100%)**
- 12.- Mandíbula:
- I: mandíbula (100%)**
- T: mandíbula (100%)**

- 13.- Hombre con barba:  
**I: barbado (50%), barbudo (37,5%), barbón (12,5%)**  
**T: barbudo (62,5%), barbado (37,5)**
- 14.- Lampiño:  
**I: lampiño (50%), pelado (25%), botella (25%)**  
**T: lampiño (87,5%), pelado (12,5%)**
- 15.- Guiñar:  
**I: picar el ojo (75%), guiñar (12,5%), tic nervioso (12,5%,)**  
**T: guiñar (87,5%), picar el ojo (12,5%)**
- 16.- Ojos torcidos:  
**I: bizco (62,5%), virolo (12,5%), miope (12,5%), bizcocho (12,5%)**  
**T: bizco (50%), virolo (25%), tuerto (25%)**
- 17.- Persona sin un ojo:  
**I: tuerto (75%), NC (25%)**  
**T: tuerto (58,33%), pirata (33,33%), para lo que hay que ver, con un ojo basta (8,33%)**
- 18.- Lagaña:  
**I: lagañas (100%)**  
**T: lagañas (100%)**
- 19.- Persona con lagañas:  
**I: lagañoso (75%), pichosa (25%)**  
**T: lagañoso (100%)**

- 20.- Lentes/gafas:  
**I: gafas (62,5%), lentes (37,5%), cuatroojos (25%)**  
**T: lentes (70,83%), gafas (12,5%), anteojos (8,33%), lupas (8.33%)**
- 21.- Gafas de sol:  
**I: gafas de sol (75%), NC (25%)**  
**T: gafas de sol (75%), NC (25%)**
22. Orejas grandes:  
**I: orejón (75%), dumbo (25%)**  
**T: orejón (75%), dumbo (12,5%), orejas de radar (12,5%)**
- 23.- Boca:  
**I: boca (62,5%), jeta (12,5%), NC (25%)**  
**T: jeta (37,5%), trompa (37,5%), boca (25%)**
- 24.- Labios grandes:  
**I: labios (37,5%), trompón (29,16%), boca de pato (8,33%), jetón (8,33%), labios de llanta (8,33%), negro (8,33%)**  
**T: trompudo (29,16%), bocón (20,83%), jetón (8,33%), mono (8,33%), labios (8,33%), labios de hamburguesa (8,33%)**
- 25.- Escupir:  
**I: escupir (50%), NC (50%)**  
**T: escupir (75%), gargajear (25%)**
- 26.- Dientes:  
**I: dientes (100%)**  
**T: dientes (100%)**



- 27.- Muelas:
- I: muelas (87,5%), muelón (12,5%)**
- T: muelas (50%), molares (50%)**
- 28.- Sin dientes:
- I: muelco (58,33%), desmuelado (20,83%), desdentado (12,5%), zumba (8,33%),**
- T: desmuelado (62,5%), muelco (12,5%), chimuelo (12,5%), huaco (12,5%)**
- 29.- Odontólogo:
- I: odontólogo (75%), dentista (25%)**
- T: odontólogo (50%), dentista (50%)**
- 30.- Amargo:
- I: agrio (62,5%), ácido (37,5%)**
- T: agrio (87,5%), amargo (12,5%)**
- 31.- Salado:
- I: salado (100%)**
- T: salado (100%)**
- 32.- Insípido:
- I: simple (62,5%), insípidos (37,5%)**
- T: simple (62,5%), insípidos (37,5%)**
- 33.- Añejo:
- I: añejo (37,5%), añejado (37,5%), fermentado (25%), anisado (12,5%)**
- T: añejo (62,5%), añejado (25%), a buen trago (12,5%)**

- 34.- Hambre:
- I: filo (56,25%), mucha hambre (31,25%), me como algo (6,25%), tragar (6,25%)**
- T: leona (43,75%), jama (31,25%), mucha hambre (18,75%), morfar (6,25%)**
- 35.- Tomar:
- I: chupar (37,5%), beber (25%), libar (12,5%), NC (25%)**
- T: chupar (75%), beber (12,5%), tomar (12,5%)**
- 36.- Nariz:
- I: ñato (45,83%), narizón (37,5%), nariz (8,33%), tiburón (8,33%),**
- T: ñato (37,49%), narizón (29,16%), nariz aguileña (8,33%), nariz de luna (8,33%), nariz (8,33%), pinocho (8,33%)**
- 37.- Cuello:
- I: cuello (50%), pescuezo (37,5%), nuca (12,5%),**
- T: cuello (75%), pescuezo (12,5%), tráquea (12,5%)**
- 38.- Garganta:
- I: garganta (62,5%), guargüero (37,5%)**
- T: garganta (37,5%), faringe (25%), guargüero (12,5%), laringe (12,5%)**
- 39.- Manzana:
- I: manzana de Eva (87,5%), coto (12,5%)**
- T: manzana de Adán (87,5%), coto (12,5%)**

- 40.- Afónico:
- I: afónico (50%), mudo (25%), resfriado (25%)**
- T: afónico (75%), ronco (25%)**
- 41.- Pechos:
- I: senos (32,08%), pohecas (23,75%), tetas (19,58%), manjares (8,33%), mamas (6,25%), yogures (5%), cantinas (5%),**
- T: tetas (37,49%), senos (24,99%), pechos (12,5%), bubies (8,33%), chichis (8,33%), mamas (8,33%)**
- 42.- Corazón:
- I: corazón (50%), mango (50%),**
- T: corazón (41,66%), wacho (41,66%), shungo (16,66%)**
- 43.- Jadear:
- I: agitados (75%), jadear (25%)**
- T: agitados (50%), cansancio (25%), jadear (25%)**
- 44.- Orinar:
- I: orinar (41,66%), miar (29,16%), hacer chichi (29,16%)**
- T: miar(54,16%), orinar (29,16%), hacer chichí (8,33%), depositar (8,33%)**
- 45.- Orines:
- I: orines (62,5%), miado (37,5%)**
- T: orines (58,33%), miado (33,33%), aguita amarilla (8,33%)**

- 46.- Trasero:
- I: cola (29,16%), cuatro letras (20,83%), rabo (20,83%), culo (12,5%),  
sentadero (8,33%), trasero (8,33%),**
- T: culo (37,49%), rabo (29,16%), trasero (24,99%), nalga (8,33%)**
- 47.- Estómago:
- I: estómago (87,5%), intestino (12,5%)**
- T: estómago (100%)**
- 48.- Barriga:
- I: barriga (50%), abdomen (25%), vientre (25%)**
- T: barriga (68,75%), panza (18,75%), guata (6,25%), pipa (6,25%),**
- 49.- Ombligo:
- I: pupo (75%), ombligo (25%)**
- T: pupo (50%), NC (50%)**
- 50.- Diarrea
- I: diarrea (45,83%), soltura (25%), la directa (12,5%), churria (8,33%),  
seguidilla (8,33%),**
- T: diarrea (87,5%), sesga (12,5%)**
- 51.- Lombrices:
- I: solitaria (50%), lombrices (37,5%), amebas (12,5%)**
- T: cuicas (87,5%), lombrices (12,5%)**
- 52.- Vomitar:
- I: vomitar (100%)**
- T: vomitar (75%), me fui de coles (25%)**

53.- Pene:

**I:**pene (20,83%), pájaro (14,58%), pichingo (14,58%), pipí (14,58%), chicholo (6,25%), chichi (6,25%), murciélago (6,25%), palo (6,25%), pinga (6,25%), verga (6,25%)

**T:** mazo (33,32%) verga (24,99%), pipí (16,66%), pene (14,58%), pájaro (6,25%), pichingo (6,25%),

54.- Otros nombres para vagina:

**I:** cuca (27,08%), chucha (18,75%), arepa (8,33%), chepa (8,33%), empanada (8,33%), panocha (8,33%), vajilla (8,33%), hueco (6,25%), paloma (6,25%)

**T:** chucha (25,83%), arepa (20,83%), vagina (13,33%), cuca (12,5%), tortilla (12,5%), araña (5%), chepa (5%), papa (5%)

55.- Período:

**I:** periodo (58,33%), menstruación (33,33%), mes (8,33%)

**T:** período (12,5%), menstruación (70,83%), mes (8,33%), sus mejores y peores días (8,33%)

56.- Tener relaciones sexuales:

**I:** hacer el amor (37,5%), culear (37,5%), tirar (12,5%), sexo (12,5%)

**T:** hacer el amor (33,32%), culear (33,32%), tirar (24,99%), sexo (8,33%),

57.- Besar:

**I:** besar (87,5%), trompa (12,5%)

**T:** besar (75%), muchita (25%)

- 58.- Axila:
- I: axila (62,5%) arca (25%), sobaco (12,5%)**
- T: axila (54,16%), sobaco (29,16%), ala (16,66%)**
- 59.- Dedos de la mano:
- I: dedo índice(22,5%), meñique(22,5%), corazón(22,5%), anular (16,25%), pulgar (16,25%),**
- T: dedo índice (23,75%), meñique (23,75%), corazón (11,25%), anular (23,75%), pulgar (17,5%)**
- 60.- Persona sin mano o sin pierna
- I: manco (33,33%), tuco (6,25%), patojo (14,58%), cojo (27,08%), patitorcido (6,25%), patepalo (6,25%), mocho (6,25%)**
- T: manco (43,75%), quince uñas (6,25%), patojo (18,75%), cojo (31,25%)**
- 61.- Patojo:
- I: patojo (50%), manco (12,5%), mocho (12,5%), NC (25%)**
- T: patojo (56,25%), cojo (25%) está roto el mosco (6,25%), lisiado (6,25%), medio invalido (6,25%),**
- 62.- Curandero:
- I: curandero (54,16%), chamán (29,16%), tegua (8,33%), yerbatero (8,33%)**
- T: yerbatero (43,75%), curandero (31,25%), brujo (18,75%), fregador (6,25%)**
- 63.- Enfermedad es muy...:
- I: contagiosa (75%), transmisible (25%)**
- T: contagiosa (87,5%), grave (12,5%)**

- 64.- Escalofríos
- I: escalofríos (87,5%), calosfríos (12,5%)**
- T: escalofrío (87,5%), achachay (12,5%)**
- 65.- Gripe:
- I: gripe (58,33%), gripa (33,33%), resfrío (8,33%)**
- T: gripe (25%), resfrío (25%), achaque (12,5%), catarro (12,5%), NC (25%)**
- 66.- Persona chaparra:
- I: enano (22,91%), gordo (20,83%), rechoncho (20,83%), pipón (14,58%), barrigón (12,5%), glotón (8,33%)**
- T: enano (33,33%), barrigón (20,83%), bien papeado (12,5%), pipón (8,33%), NC (25%)**
- 67.- Persona delgada:
- I: flaco (27,08%), delgado (27,08%), esqueleto (14,58%), seco (25%), más carnes tiene un zancudo en las rodillas que usted (6,25%)**
- T: flaco (100%)**
- 68.- Borracho:
- I: borracho (33,33%), chumado (20,83%), alcohólico (16,66%), chapilero (12,5%), degenerado (8,33%), ebrio (8,33%)**
- T: ebrio (30%), borracho (23,75%), chumado (23,75%), alcohólico (11,25%), bohemia (6,25%), echo bolsa (5%),**
- 69.- Borrachera:
- I: borrachera (58,33%), rasca (20,83%), perra (12,5%), tusa (8,33%)**
- T: chuma (45,83%), borrachera (45,83%), chumación (8,33%)**

- 70.- Resaca:  
**I: guayabo (87,5%), chuchaqui (12,5%)**  
**T: chuchaqui (50%), guayabo (50%)**
- 71.- Peleador:  
**I: pelearingo (50%), buscapleitos (25%), peleón (25%)**  
**T: bronquista (75%), pelearingo (25%)**
- 72.- Persona muy inteligente:  
**I: sabio (25%), sobrado (25%), inteligente (20,83%), nerd (12,5%), avisado (8,33%), vivo (8,33%)**  
**T: inteligente (37,5%), razonable (25%), tranquila (25%), pilas (12,5%)**
- 73.- Persona poco inteligente:  
**I: bobo (39,58%), pendejo (31,25%), tonto (14,58%), dejado (8,33%), sonzo (6,25%)**  
**T: tonto (83,33%), bruto (8,33%), bestia (8,33%),**
- 74.- Persona con mala suerte  
**I: mala suerte (41,66%), de malas (29,16%), hecho daño (8,33%), salado (8,33%),**  
**T: mala suerte (50%), salado (50%)**
- 75.- Loco :  
**I: loco (75%), demente (25%)**  
**T: loco (87,5%), demente (12,5%)**
- 76.- Hospital psiquiátrico:  
**I: manicomio (50%), hospital psiquiátrico (25%), psiquiatra (25%)**  
**T: manicomio (75%), hospital psiquiátrico (12,5%), hospicio (12,5%)**



- 77.- Mentiroso:  
**I: mentiroso (87,5%), pinocho (12,5%)**  
**T: mentiroso (100%)**
- 78.- Deudor:  
**I: relapsoso (25%), incumplido (25%), tramposo (25%), ladrón (12,5%), ratero (12,5%)**  
**T: tramposo (50%), deudor (37,5%), mala paga (12,5%)**
- 79.- De complejo inferior:  
**I: baja autoestima (50%), atemorizada (25%), acomplejada (12,5%), creída (12,5%)**  
**T: acomplejada (25%), inferior (25%), baja autoestima (12,5%), creída (12,5%), posuda (12,5%), superioridad (12,5%)**
- 80.- Vago:  
**I: vago (58,33%), perezoso (33,33%), vividor (8,33%)**  
**T: vago (100%)**
- 81.- Despilfarrador:  
**I: derrochador (25%), manisuelto (25%), tiene plata (25%), gastador (12,5%), malgastador (12,5%)**  
**T: despilfarrador (62,5%), derrochador (25%), botarata (12,5%)**
- 82.- Tacaño:  
**I: tacaño (45,83%), avaro (33,33%), ñuco (33,33%), codo (12,5%)**  
**T: muco (58,33%), tacaño (37,5%), codo (20,83%)**

- 83.- Persona agradable:  
**I: alegre (25%), chévere (25%), querida (25%), amena (12,5%), más amena (12,5%)**  
**T: chévere (50%), racional (25%), agradable (25%)**
- 84.- Marido traicionado:  
**I: cachudo (50%), cornudo (25%), cachón (12,5%), maricón (12,5%)**  
**T: cachudo (75%), venado (25%)**
- 85.- Vergüenza:  
**I: vergüenza (75%), pena (25%)**  
**T: vergüenza (100%)**
- 86.- Persona que no se baña es:  
**I: sucio (45,83%), desaseado (20,83%), hediondo (8,33%), cochina (25%)**  
**T: sucio (70,83%), desaseado (8,33%), cochina (20,83%)**
- 87.- Mujer que vende su cuerpo:  
**I: prostituta (19,58%), zorra (16,25%), ramera (14,58%), fufurufa (13,33%), puta (11,25%), perra (10%), trabajadoras sexuales (5%), copera (5%),**  
**T: puta (41,66%), prostituta (29,16%), ramera (12,5%), zorra (8,33%), meretriz (8,33%)**
- 88.- Homosexual:  
**I: gay (41,66%), marica (41,66%), bámbaro (20,83%), mariposa (20,83%) amanerado (8,33%),**  
**T: bámbaro (50%), gay (37,5%), marica (12,5%)**

- 89.- Persona chismosa:  
**I: chismosa (45,83%), coharto (25%), cuentera (12,5%), bocón (8,33%), hablador (8,33%)**  
**T: chismosa (87,5%), hablador (12,5%)**
- 90.- Amigo:  
**I: parce (31,24%), pana (31,24%), ñero (14,58%), broder (8,33%), yolo (8,33%), confidente (6,25%),**  
**T: parce (36,9%), pana (36,9%), broder (24,4%), camarada (3,57%), compañero (3,57%), yunta (3,57%), par de cebollas a todo van (3,57%)**
- 91.- Maleducado:  
**I: maleducado (62,5%), malcriado (25%) malgeniado (12,5%)**  
**T: malcriado (50%), maleducado (37,5%), ignorante (12,5%)**
- 92.- Insultos de hombres  
**I: marica (20,83%), hijueputa (14,58%), guevon (12,5%), hijo de puta (12,5%), maricón (12,5%), gonorrrea (8,33%), bámbaro (6,25%), cara de verga (6,25%), indio (6,25%)**  
**T: cabrón (25,71%), hijo de puta (14,91%), bámbaro (14,58%), hijueputa (12,5%), maricón (11,25%), cara de verga (6,25%), hijuepúcta (5%), caremazo (5%), caretórtolo (5%)**
- 93.- Insultos de mujeres:  
**I: perra (33,33%), ramera (18,75%), puta (14,58%), zorra (12,5%), vagabunda (8,33%), le quita el pan a mis hijos (6,25%), bambara (6,25%)**  
**T: puta (68,75%), zorra (18,75%), moza (6,25%), amante (6,25%)**

94.- Matar:

**I: acribillar (20,83%), mandarlo al hueco (12,5%), callar (12,5%), boca llena de moscos (12,5%), ponerlo a comer con los gusanos (14,58%), meterlo bajo tierra (6,25%), mandarlo a torcer (6,25%), calla ese sapo (6,25%), asesinar (8,33%)**

**T: dar el vire (80%), asesinar (5%), borrar (5%), chuzar (5%), quebrar (5%)**

95.- Paliza:

**I: paliza (62,5%), garrotazos (25%), muenda (12,5%)**

**T: paliza (87,5%), la del putas (12,5%)**

ii. Dress

96.- Desnudarse:

**I: quitársela (62,5%), sacársela (25%), desvestirse (12,5%)**

**T: desvestirse (45,83%), quitársela (20,83%), sacársela (33,33%)**

97.- Desnudo:

**I: viringo (45,83%), embola (33,33%), empelota (20,83%)**

**T: viringo(62,5%) , pirlo (25%), sin nada (12,5%)**

98.- Persona bien vestida:

**I: elegante (62,5%), de frac (12,5%), de caché (12,5%), bien vestido (12,5%)**

**T: elegante (50%), guapo (33,33%), pinta (8,33%), gorgorito (8,33%)**

- 99.- Persona mal vestida:
- I: arrapastroso (25%), ñero (25%), gamin (12,5%), pobre (12,5%), desechable (12,5%), vago (12,5%)**
- T: fachoso (37,5%), gamin (25%), descalzonado (12,5%), NC (25%)**
- 100.- Correa:
- I: correa (100%)**
- T: correa (87,5%), cinturón (12,5%)**
- 101.- Buzo:
- I: buzo (62,5%), saco (37,5%)**
- T: saco (75%), buzo (12,5%), bufanda (12,5%)**
- 102.- Poncho:
- I: ruana (62,5%), poncho (37,5%)**
- T: ruana (50%), poncho (50%)**
- 103.- Ropa deportiva:
- I: sudadera (75%), short (12,5%), deportiva (12,5%)**
- T: calentador (58,33%), sudadera (33,33%), bombacho (8,33%)**
- 104.- Pantalón:
- I: pantalón (75%), pantalones (25%)**
- T: pantalones (100%)**
- 105.- Traje:
- I: vestido (62,5%), traje (20,83%), chaquetón (8,33%), chaqueta (8,33%)**
- T: terno(87,5%), traje (12,5%)**

106.- Chaleco:

**I: chaleco (75%), NC (25%)**

**T: chaleco (100%)**

107.- Chaqueta:

**I: chaqueta(37,5%), gabán (25%), chompa (12,5%) NC (25%)**

**T: chompa (62,5%), chaqueta (37,5%)**

108.- Jeans:

**I: jeans (100%)**

**T: jeans 100%)**

109.- Camisilla:

**I. camisilla (100%)**

**T: dividí (100%)**

110.- Calzoncillo:

**I: boxer (50%), calzoncillo (37,5%), interior (12,5%)**

**T: calzoncillo (75%), bóxer (25%)**

111.- Billtera:

**I: billetera (62,5%), cartera (37,5%)**

**T: billetera (87,5%), cartera (12,5%)**

112.- Falda:

**I: falda (100%)**

**T: falda (100%)**

113.- Vestido:

**I: vestido (50%), terno (25%), traje (25%)**

**T: vestido (45,83%), terno (45,83%), traje (8,33%)**

114.- Blusa

**I: blusa (100%)**

**T: blusa (100%)**

115.- Sostén:

**I: sostén (50%), brassier (50%)**

**T: brassier (62,5%), sostén (37,5%)**

116.- Calzones:

**I: cucos (25%), tanga (24,99%), cacheteros (16,66%), hilo dental (16,66%), brasilera (8,33%), calzón (8,33%)**

**T: calzón (70,83%), tanga (20,83%), hilo dental (8,33%)**

117.- Medias:

**I: medias (87,5%), pantalones de seda (12,5%)**

**T: medias (100%)**

118.- Cartera:

**I: Cartera (62,5%), bolso (37,5%)**

**T: cartera (75%), bolso (25%)**

119.- Aretes:

**I: aretes (100%)**

**T: aretes (100%)**

120.- Collar:

**I: chaquiras (31,25%), cadena (25%), perlas (12,5%), collar (6,25%),  
mostacillas (6,25%), mullos (6,25%), gargantillas (6,25%)**

**T: perlas (25%), collar (25%), mullos (25%), dije (25%)**

121.- Manilla:

**I: pulsera (75%), manilla (25%)**

**T: manilla (75%), pulsera (25%)**

122.- Anillo:

**I: anillo (41,66%), anillo de compromiso (25%), aro (16,66%)**

**T: anillo (62,5%), aro (37,5%)**

123.- Pasador:

**I: pasador (33,33%), peine (25%), vincha (8,33%), NC (25%)**

**T: vincha (75%), pasador (25%)**

124.- Cinta:

**I: bamba (50%), cinta (25%), NC (25%)**

**T: cinta (25%), cordón (25%), NC (50%)**

125.- Esmalte:

**I: esmalte (75%), pintañas (25%)**

**T: pintañas (75%), esmalte (25%)**

126.- Pintalabios:

**I: pintalabios (50%), labial (25%), colorete (25%)**

**T: pintalabios (50%), labial (50%)**



127.- Base:

**I: rubor (50%), base (37,5%), polvo (12,5%)**

**T: base (58,33%), rubor (16,66%), maquillaje (8,33%), polvo (8,33%)**

128.- Sonajero:

**I: sonajero (75%), NC (25%)**

**T: sonajero (37,5%), sonaja (37,5%), chinesco (25%)**

### **iii. Family and Cycle of life**

129.- Parir:

**I: dar a luz (50%), va a parir (37,5%), tener un bebé (12,5%), alumbrar (12,5%)**

**T: dar a luz (62,5%), va a parir (37,5%)**

130.- Periodo tras el parto:

**I: dieta (75%), NC (25%)**

**T: dieta (100%)**

131.- Partera:

**I: partera (75%), NC (25%)**

**T: partera (100%)**

132.- Niño sin bautizar:

**I: auca (100%)**

**T: auca (100%)**

133.-. Bautizar:

**I: bautizar (100%)**

**T: bautizar (100%)**

134.- Padrino:

**I: padrino (100%)**

**T: padrino (100%)**

135.-. Madrina:

**I: madrina (100%)**

**T: madrina (100%)**

136.-. Dar de lactar:

**I: lactar (37,5%), amamantar (37,5%), dar el pecho (25%)**

**T: amamantar (58,33%), lactar (20,83%), dar el pecho (12,5%), dar la teta (8,33%)**

137.-. Dejar de lactar:

**I: destetar (87,5%), dejar de lactar (12,5%)**

**T: destetar (87,5%), quitar la teta (12,5%)**

138.-. Cuando un niño llora:

**I: con espanto (25%), con dolor (25%), fiebre (25%), haciendo pataleta (12,5%), rabieta (12,5%)**

**T: tiene hambre (62,5%), llorón (37,5%)**

139.-. Ser permisivo con un niño:

**I: malcriarlo (37,5%), adularlo (37,5%), ser permisivos (25%)**

**T: malcriarlo (62,5%), adularlo (25%), aguaguado (12,5%)**

140.- Un niño recién nacido es:

**I: bebé (37,5%), guagua (33,33%), beludo (8,33%), mocoso (8,33%)**

**T: bebe (50%), guagua (50%)**

141.- Cargar un niño:

**I: marcar (58,33%), cargar (33,33%), argar (8,33%)**

**T: marcar (62,5%), amargar (25%), cargar (12,5%)**

142.- Hijo menor:

**I: concho (62,5%), menor (25%), rescoldo (25%)**

**T: concho (87,5%), gajito (12,5%)**

143.- Hijo sin reconocer:

**I: ilegítimo (70,83%), bastardo (33,33%), hijo natural (8,33%)**

**T: hijo natural (37,5%), ilegítmo (25%), NC (25%), bastardo (12,5%)**

144.- Huérfano:

**I: huérfano (100%)**

**T: huérfano (75%). Guaicho (25%)**

145.- Enamorarse:

**I: coquetear (50%), conquistarla (25%), enamorarse (25%)**

**T: enamorarse (62,5%) coquetear (37,5%)**

146.- Novio:

**I: novio (100%)**

**T: novio (100%)**

147.- Amante:

**I: amante (37,49%), moza (37,49%), tiniebla (8,33%), compañera (8,33%), machucante (6,25%), quitadora del pan de los hijos (6,25%)**

**T: moza(62,5%), amante (37,5%)**

148.- Amancebado:

**I: amancebado (100%)**

**T: amancebado (75%), de compañeros (12,5%), amañados (12,5%)**

149.- Padre:

**I: papá (62,5%), cucho (37,5%)**

**T: papá (87,5%) taita (12,5%)**

150.- Madre:

**I: mamá (100%)**

**T: mamá (100%)**

151.- Hermano y hermana:

**I: hermano y hermana (87,5%), ñaño (12,5%)**

**T: hermano y hermana (87,5%), ñaño (12,5%)**

152.- Abuelo y abuela:

**I: abuelo y abuela (100%)**

**T: abuelo y abuela (62,5%), mamita y papito (37,5%)**

153.- Clase alta:

**I: ricos (75%), clase alta (25%)**

**T: ricos (50%), clase alta (37,5%), pelucones (12,5%)**

154.- Clase media:

**I: media (75%), normal (25%)**

**T: media (100%)**

155.- Clase baja:

**I: pobres (50%), clase baja (50%)**

**T: pobres (75%), muy lumpesco (25%)**

156.- Morir:

**I: colgar los guayos (33.33%), fallecer (27,8%), estirar la pata (16,66%),  
le falló el mango (14,58%), se pataquió (6,25%), estiro las cuatro de  
andar (8,33%), torcer el cuello (6,25%)**

**T: estiró la pata (37,5%), fallecer (25%), morir (25%), marcó calavera  
(12,5%)**

157.- Muerto:

**I: muerto (62,5%), difunto (37,%)**

**T: muerto (75%), difunto (25%)**

158.- Funeral:

**I: misa de difuntos (50%), funeral (25%) velorio (25%)**

**T: misa de difuntos (33,33%), funeral (20,83%), velorio (12,5%), misa  
de traslado (25%), entierro(8,33%)**

159.- Tumba:

**I: boveda (37,5%), tumba (25%), fosa (25%), cajón (12,5%)**

**T: tumba (75%), boveda (12,5%), fosa (12,5%)**

160.- Persona fea:

**I: fea (50%), betty (25%), NC (25%)**

161.- Una persona guapa es:

**I: chusca (39,58%), Hermosa (18,75%), guapa (20,83%), simpático (14,58%)**

**T: chusca (50%), simpático(37,5%), bellezura (25%), guapa (12,5%)**

#### **iv. City and Transportation**

162.- Conjunto de casas en el campo:

**I: caserío (100%)**

**T: caserío (100%)**

163.- Descampado:

**I: vereda (37,5%), campo (37,5%), llano (25%)**

**T: despoblado (37,5%), desolado (25%), campo (25%), vereda (12,5%)**

164.- Alcalde:

**I: alcalde (87,5%), gobernador indígena (12,5%)**

**T: alcalde (100%)**

165.- Alcaldía:

**I: alcaldía (100%)**

**T: alcaldía (75%), municipio (75%)**

166.- Barrios pobres:

**I: aquí no hay (75%), comunas (12,5%), barrios (12,5%)**

**T: aquí no hay (75%), suburbios (25%)**

167.- Vereda:

**I: andén (100%)**

**T: vereda (62,5%), andén (25%), acera (12,5%)**

168.- Paso cebra:

**I: paso cebra (100%)**

**T: paso cebra (62,5%), vereda (12,5%), NC (25%)**

169.- Agente de tránsito:

**I: agente de tránsito (75%), director de tránsito (25%)**

**T: policía (62,5%), chapa (25%), agente de tránsito (12,5%)**

**v. Housing and Housework**

170.- Arrendador:

**I: arrendatario (100%)**

**T: arrendatario (75%), arrendador (25%)**

171.- Cambiarse de casa:

**I: mudarse (87,5%), trastearse (12,5%)**

**T: trastearse (25%), trasladarse (25%), pasarse (12,5%) mudarse (12,5%) NC (25%)**

172.- Casa pobre:

**I: choza (50%), pajiza (25%), NC (25%)**

**T: choza (100%)**

173.- Casa con jardín:

**I: casona (25%), casa-quinta (25%), casa (25%), NC (25%)**

**T: casa (25%), residencia (25%), finca (25%), NC (25%)**

174.- Vecinos:

**I: vecinos (100%)**

**T: vecinos (100%)**

175.- Techo:

**I: techo (41,66%), canal (20,83%), teja (16,66%), drenaje (12,5%),  
agualluvia (8,33%)**

**T: techo (62,5%), canal (25%), alero (12,5%)**

176.- Patio:

**I: patio (75%), hall (25%)**

**T: patio (100%)**

177.- Cerradura:

**I: cerradura (37,5%), chapa (62,5%)**

**T: chapa (75%), cerradura (12,5%), cerrojo (12,5%)**

178.- Timbre:

**I: timbre (100%)**

**T: timbre (100%)**

179.- Maceta:

**I: macetero (37,5%), matero (37,5%), vasija (25%)**

**T: macetero (100%)**



180.- Corredor:

**I: zaguán (75%), pasillo (25%)**

**T: zaguán (75%), pasillo (25%)**

181.- ¿Con qué nos tapamos a la noche?

**I: sábana (37,5%), cobija (37,5%), colcha (25%), cubrelecho (12,5%)**

**T: cubrecama (45,83%), cobija (20,83%), sábana (20,83%)**

182.- La mesita de noche:

**I: nochero (100%)**

**T: nochero (62,5%), velador (37,5%)**

183.- ¿Dónde se cuelga la ropa?

**I: armador (87,5%), gancho (12,5%)**

**T: armador (100%)**

184.- ¿Dónde se asean las personas?

**I: baño (100%)**

**T: baño (100%)**

185.- ¿Cómo se llaman los utensilios o muebles viejos?

**I : chécheres (50%), chatarra (25%), cachivaches(12,5%), desechables (12,5%)**

**T : trastes (75%), NC (25%)**

186.- Una pila de cosas es:

**I: montón (75%), amontonado (75%)**

**T: pila (62,5%), amontonado (25%), almatigo (12,5%)**

187.- Bodega:

**I: bodega (50%), cuarto de sanalejo (25%), cuarto de chécheres (25%)**

**T: bodega (75%), cuarto de planchar (25%)**

188.- Nombre de aparato eléctrico que da luz:

**I: bombillo (75%), foco (25%)**

**T: foco (50%), lámpara (25%), bombillo (25%)**

**vi. Alimentation**

189.- Lugar donde se cocina:

**I: estufa (62,5%), fogón (25%), cocina (12,5%)**

**T: fogón (37,5%), cocina (25%), tulpá (12,5%), hornilla (12,5%)**

190.- Mecha de vela:

**I: mecha (75%), mechero (25%)**

**T: mecha (100%)**

191.- ¿Con qué se calientan las personas del campo?

**I: calefacción (37,5%), carbón (12,5%), hornilla (37,5%), estufa (12,5%)**

**T: estufa (62,5%), chimenea (25%), reverbero (12,5%)**

192.- ¿Qué se hace con los alimentos?

**I: cocinar (75%), cocerlos (25%)**

**T: cocinar (62,5%), cocerlos (37,5%)**

193.- Hornear:

**I: hornear (37,5%), asar (37,5%), calendar (25%)**

**T: hornear (100%)**

194.- Olla:

**I: olla (100%)**

**T: olla (100%)**

195.- Piedra de moler:

**I: piedra de moler (50%), machacador (25%), NC (25%)**

**T: piedra de moler (75%), machacador (25%)**

196.- Rallador :

**I: rallador (87,5%), arnero (12,5)**

**T: rallador (100%)**

197.- Descorchador:

**I: sacacorchos (50%), descorchador (37,5%), corcho (12,5%)**

**T: descorchador (75%), sacacorchos (25%)**

198.- Cuchara:

**I: cucharón (62,5%), cuchara (37,5%)**

**T: cucharón (62,5%), cuchara (37,5%)**

199.- Bandeja:

**I: bandeja (87,5%), Fuente (12,5%)**

**T: charol (87,5%), bandeja (12,5%)**

200.- Sala:

**I: sala (100%)**

**T: sala (100%)**

201.- Sofá:

**I: butaca (50%), butacón (37,5%), sofá (12,5%)**

**T: taburete (50%), sillón (25%), sofá (12,5%), butaca (12,5%)**

202.- Estante:

**I: biblioteca (87,5%), estante (12,5%)**

**T: estante (50%), aparador (25%), librero (25%)**

203.- Refrigerador:

**I: nevera (87,5%), refrigerador (12,5%)**

**T: nevera (62,5%), refrigerador (37,5%)**

204.- ¿Qué se debe hacer con los platos sucios?

**I: lavarlos (100%)**

**T: lavarlos (100%)**

205.- Lavaplatos:

**I: lavaplatos (87,5%) platón (12,5%)**

**T: lavaplatos (62,5%), lavabo (25%), lavacara (12,5%)**

206.- Llave de agua:

**I: llave (75%), grifo (25%)**

**T: llave (50%), grifo (50%)**

2047.- Trapo:

**I: trapo (62,5%), mantel (25%), franela (12,5%)**

**T: trapo (83,33%), mantel (8,33%), limpión (8,33%)**

208.- Bote de basura:

**I: basurero (37,5%), tanque de basura (25%), caneca (25%), bote de basura (25%)**

**T: basurero (75%), NC (25%)**

209.- Detergente:

**I: detergente (87,5%), jabón en polvo (12,5%)**

**T: detergente (87,5%)**

210.- Quitar el agua con jabón:

**I: enjuagar (100%)**

**T: enjuagar (50%), fregar (25%), restregar (25%)**

211.- Ecurrir:

**I: escurrir (100%)**

**T: escurrir (100%)**

212.- Palo largo con trapo para agua:

**I: trapero (100%)**

**T: trapeador (100%)**

213.- Peluquería:

**I: salón de belleza (87,5%), peluquería (12,5%)**

**T: salón de belleza (62,5%), peluquería (37,5%)**

214.- Cepillo :

**I : cepillo (62,5%), peine (25%), peinilla ( 12,5%)**

**T : cepillo (50%), peinilla(25%), peine (25%)**

215.- Raya del cabello peinado:

**I: partido (50%), camino de la cabeza (50%)**

**T: partido (50%), peinar (25%), NC (25%)**

216.- Mujer que hace vestidos para mujeres:

**I: modista (62,5%), mujer sastre (25%), costurera (12,5%)**

**T: costurera (58,33%), mujer sastre (8,33%), modista (8,33%), NC (25%)**

217.- Coser:

**I: coser (62,5%), remendar (37,5%)**

**T: coser (75%), sucir (25%)**

218.- Agujas:

**I: agujetas (100%)**

**T: agujetas (100%)**

219.- Tijeras:

**I: tijeras (50%), NC (50%)**

**T: tijeras (100%)**

220.- Carne o pescado pasados:

**I: podrido (50%), dañado (25%), hediondo (12,5%)**

**T:dañado (62,5%), hediondo (12,5%), NC (25%)**

221.- Pan tieso:

**I: mohoseado (50%), enmohecido (37,5%), tieso (12,5%)**

**T: NC (50%), enmohecido (25%), mohoseado (25%)**

222.- Comida de media mañana:

**I: onces (100%)**

**T: desayuno (25%), refrigerio (25%), onces (25%), NC (25%)**

223.- Almuerzo:

**I: almuerzo (100%)**

**T: almuerzo (100%)**

224.- Comida de media tarde:

**I: café (100%)**

**T: café (100%)**

225.- Cena:

**I: cena(62,5%), merienda (37,5%)**

**T: merienda (100%)**

226.- Comida que se lleva al campo:

**I: avío (58,33%), fiambre (33,33%), lonchera (8,33%)**

**T: avío (83,33%), fiambre (8,33%), vianda (8,33%)**

227.- Segundo plato:

**I: seco (75%), arroz (25%)**

**T: seco (87,5%), arroz (12,5%)**

228.- Comida quemada:

**I: ahumada (50%), quemada (50%)**

**T: quemada (62,%), ahumado (37,5%)**

229.- Repitajo:

**I: calentado (100%)**

**T: calentado (100%)**

230.- Pincho:

**I: pincho (50%), chuzo (50%)**

**T: pincho (83,33%), chuzo (8,33%), brocheta (8,33%)**

231.- Parte posterior de la pierna del cerdo:

**I: pernil (87,5%), fritada (12,5%)**

**T: pernil (87,5%) hornado (12,5%)**

232.- ¿Conoce plantas típicas del lugar?

**I: hiberbabuena (43,75%), aromática (18,75%), menta (12,5%), toronjil (6,25%)**

**T: hierbabuena (39,58%), aromática (31,2%), hierbaluisa (14,58%), menta (8,33%), toronjil (6,25%)**

233.- Bebida de frutas y agua:

**I: jugo (100%)**

**T: jugo (100%)**

234.- Batido:

**I: batido (100%)**

**T: batido (75%), NC (25%)**



235.- ¿Qué plato se come por navidad?

**I: pavo (87,5%), Puerco hornado (12,5%)**

**T: pavo (100%)**

236.- Algunos platos típicos de semana santa:

**I: juanesca (24,99%), locro(24,99%), pesca(16,66%), molo(8,33%),  
fanesca (8,33%)**

**T: fanesca(29,16%), juanesca (29,16%), locro(29,16%), pollo (20,83%)**

## **vii Occupations**

237.- Trabajar:

**I: trabajar (37,5%), camellar (37,5%), chambear (24,99%), vlear  
(8,33%)**

**T: trabajar (41,66%), camellar (41,66%), chambear (8,33%), buscarse  
el medio (8,33%)**

238.- Salario:

**I: salario (75%), sueldo (25%)**

**T: salario (75%), sueldo (25%)**

239.- Médico:

**I: médico (100%)**

**T: doctor (75%), medico (25%), autorecetar (25%)**

240.- Ladrón:

**I: ladrón (58,33%), ratero (25 %), apartamentero (12,5%), caco  
(8,33%), raponero (8,33%)**

**T: ladron (66,33%), ratero (16,66%), choro (8,33%), olic (8,33%)**

241.- Alguien que hace trampas:

**I: estafador (87,5%), tramposo (12,5%)**

**T: estafador (87,5%), tramposo (12,5%)**

242.- Jefe de obras:

**I: capataz (62,5%), maestro (25%), patrón (12,5%)**

**T: capataz (87,5%), maestro (12,5%)**

243.- Empleada doméstica:

**I: empleada doméstica (100%)**

**T: empleada doméstica (87,5%), mucama (12,5%)**

244.- Niñera:

**I: niñera (87,5%), nana (12,5%)**

**T: niñera (87,5%), nana (12,5%)**

245.- Conserje:

**I: aseador (87,5%), camarera (12,5%)**

**T: conserje (87,5%), portero (12,5%)**

246.- Cuidador:

**I: guachimán (70,83%), celador (12,5%), vigilante (8,33%), conserje (8,33%)**

**T: guachimán (75%), cuidador (25%)**

247.- Adobe

**I: adobe (87,5%), ladrillo (12,5%)**

**T: adobe (75%), ladrillo (25%)**

248.- Clavo:

**I: clavo (100%)**

**T: clavo (100%)**

249.- Plomero:

**I: plomero (100%)**

**T: plomero (100%)**

250.- Filo de cuchillo:

**I: filo (100%)**

**T: filo (100%)**

251.- Cortar el cabello:

**I: cortar (87,5%), trasquilar (12,5%)**

**T: cortar (50%), mocho (25%), desgrafilar(12,5%)**

252.- Peluquería:

**I: peluquería (45,83%), peluquero (33,33%), salón de belleza (16,66%)**

**T: peluquería (45,83%), peluquero (45,83%), salón de belleza (8,33%)**

253.- Lustrador:

**I: envolador (87,5%), lustrador (12,5%)**

**T: lustrador (37,5%), envolador (12,5%), betunero (12,5%), NC (25%)**

254.- Martillo:

**I: martillo (62,5%), maceta (37,5%)**

**T: martillo (50%), mazo (37,5%), maceta (12,5%)**

255.- Barrenderos:

**I: barrendero (87,5%), Service (12,5%)**

**T: Barrendero (100%)**

256.- Bomberos:

**I: bomberos (100%)**

**T: bomberos (100%)**

257.- Dinero:

**I: dinero (62,5%), plata (37,5%)**

**T: dinero (87,5%), plata (12,5%)**

258.- Dinero metálico:

**I: monedas (100%)**

**T: monedas (87,5%), sueltos (12,5%)**

259.- Papel Moneda:

**I: billetes (100%)**

**T: billetes (100%)**

260.- Cambio:

**I: regreso (50%), vuelto (37,5%), cambio (12,5)**

**T: regreso (37,5%), vuelto 37,5%), cambio (25%)**

261.- Mercancía:

**I: oferta (25%), mercancía (25%), inventario (12,5%), promoción (12,5%), NC (25%)**

**T: mercancía (100%)**

262.- Mercado:

**I: mercado (100%)**

**T: mercado (100%)**

263.- Puesto de mercado:

**I: puesto de mercado (87,5%), estante (12,5%)**

**T: puesto de mercado (87,5%), local (12,5%)**

264.- Comerciante:

**I: vendedor ambulante (75%), revendedor (12,5%), comerciante (12,5%)**

**T: vendedor ambulante (87,5%), comerciante (12,5%)**

265.- Contrabandista:

**I: contrabandista (100%)**

**T: contrabandista (75%), cacharrero (25%)**

266.- Medidas de Peso:

**I: libra (41,66%), kilo (29,32%), pesa (16,66%), balanza (12,5%)**

**T: balanza (37,5%), quintal (33,33%), pesa (12,5%), kilo (8,33%), libra (8,33%)**

267.- Añadido que se da cuando se compra algo:

**I: ñapa (75%), yapa (25%)**

**T: yapa (100%)**

268.- Animal pequeño:

**I: animal pequeño (100%)**

**T: animal pequeño(58,33%), chiquito (33,33%), chiringo (8,33%)**

269.- Cliente:

**I: cliente (100%)**

**T: cliente (100%)**

270.- Tienda donde se vende de todo:

**I: miscellanea (29,16%), Granero (41,66%), tienda (20,83%),  
supermercado (8,33%)**

**T: granero(41,66%), bodega(20,33%), tienda (12,5%), supermercado  
(8,33%), cacharrería (8,33%), abarrotes (8,33%)**

271.- Tendero:

**I: tendero (50%), recepcionista (25%), vendedor (25%)**

**T: tendero (62,5%), vendedor (12,5%), NC (25%)**

272.- Carnicería:

**I: carnicería (37,5%), tercena (62,5%)**

**T: carnicería (37,5%), tercena (62,5%)**

273.- Carnicero:

**I: carnicero (100%)**

**T: carnicero (100%)**

274.- Licorería:

**I: licorería (87,5%), estanquillo (12,5%)**

**T: licorería (100%)**

275.- Almacén de telas:

**I: textilería (25%), almacén de telas (12,5%), mercería (12,5%), NC (50%)**

**T: bazar (75%), almacén de telas (25%)**

276.- Ferretería:

**I: ferretería (100%)**

**T: ferretería (100%)**

277.- Vendedor de lotería:

**I: lotero (100%)**

**T: lotero (50%), vendedor de lotería (50%)**

278.- Puesto de comidas:

**I: puesto (62,5%), comida ambulante (25%), kiosko (12,5%)**

**T: kiosko (62,5%), puesto (37,5%)**

279.- Restaurante:

**I: restaurante (100%)**

**T: restaurante (50%), salón (50%)**

280.- Otros términos para policía

**I: policía (45,83%), tombo (45,83%), chapa (8,33%)**

**T: policía (37,49%), chapa (37,49%), tombo (24,99%)**

281.- Tolete:

**I: bolillo (100%)**

**T: tolete (37,5%), mazo (25%), bolillo (12,5%), NC (25%)**

282.- Requisar:

**I: requisar (100%)**

**T: requisar (100%)**

283.- ¿Cómo se le dice a la cárcel?

**I: cana (55%), comer con campana (12,5%), reclusorio (12,5%) tras rejas (5%), la chona (5%), presidio (5%), la universidad (5%)**

**T: cana (50%), la universidad (20,83%), pulgosa (20,83%), jaula (8,33%)**

284.- ¿Cómo se llama la oficina de frontera?

**I: aduana (100%)**

**T: aduana (100%)**

#### **viii. Parties, games and entertainment**

285.- ¿Cómo se llama lo que hace el cura?

**I: celebrar misa (100%)**

**T: celebrar misa (100%)**

286.- Parroquia:

**I: casa parroquial (75%), cara cural (25%)**

**T: casa parroquial (100%)**

287.- Limosnero:

**I: limosnero (75%), alcancía (25%)**

**T: alcancía (62,5%) limosnero (37,5%)**



288.- Mujer muy religiosa:

**I: beata (100%)**

**T: beata (100%)**

289.- Santiguarse:

**I: persignarse (62,5%), santiguarse (37,5%)**

**T: persignarse 37,5%), santiguarse (37,5%), NC (25%)**

290.- El diablo:

**I: cuco (37,5%), Satanás (25%), cachudo (12,5%), NC (25%)**

**T: cuco (75%), Lucifer (12,5%), demonio (12,5%)**

291.- Objetos de buena suerte:

**I: agüero (37,5%), amuleto (25%), interiores amarillos (12,5%) NC (25%)**

**T: agüero (25%), amuleto (25%), abusadero (25%), NC (25%)**

292.- Pólvora o fuegos artificiales:

**I: cohete (50%), volador (25%), fuego artificial (25%)**

**T: cohete (75%), volador (25%)**

293.- Palo encebado:

**I: palo encebado (100%)**

**T: palo encebado (100%)**

294.- Piñata:

**I: piñata (100%)**

**T: piñata (50%), olla encantada (50%)**

295.- Juego de la Vaca loca:

**I: vaca loca (100%)**

**T: vaca loca (100%)**

296.- Carrusel :

**I: carrusel (100%)**

**T: carrusel (100%)**

297.- Parque de diversiones:

**I: ciudad del hierro (45,83%), parque de diversiones (12,5%) feria (8,33%), circo (8,33%)**

**T: feria (62,5%), parque de diversiones(25%), rueda (25%)**

298.- Boleto:

**I: boleto (100%)**

**T: boleto (100%)**

299.- Costumbres de Navidad:

**I: novena y pase del niño (75%), pesebre (25%)**

**T: pesebre (75%), novena y pase del niño (25%)**

300.- Año viejo:

**I: año viejo (100%)**

**T: noche vieja (50%), fin de año (50%)**

301.- Año nuevo:

**I: año nuevo (100%)**

**T: año nuevo (100%)**

302.- Carnaval:

**I: carnaval multicolor de la frontera (100%)**

**T: el carnaval de Ecuador (100%)**

303.- Día de los muertos:

**I: día de muertos (25%), santos (25%), difuntos (25%), NC (25%)**

**T: día de difuntos (100%)**

304.- Bebida tradicional por día de muertos:

**I: colada morada y guagua de pan (100%)**

**T: colada morada y guagua de pan(100%)**

305.- Fiesta de quince años:

**I: quinceañera (100%)**

**T: quinceañera (75%), rosada (25%)**

306.- Instrumentos de viento de la región:

**I: flauta (22,91%) rondador(22,91%), quena( 22,91%), trompeta (6,25%)**

**T: rondador (54,16%), flauta (29,16%), quena (16,66%), zampoña (16,66%)**

307.- Instrumento de cuerdas:

**I: guitarra (20,83%), charango (20,83%), violín (8,33%), NC (50%)**

**T: guitarra (45,83%), charango (43,83%), mandolín (8,33)**

308.- Boleto de lotería:

**I: billete (25%), fracción, (25%), boleto (25%), pedazo de lotería (12,5%), seco de lotería (12,5%)**

**T: wachito (62,5%), boleto (37,5%)**

309.- Chiste:

**I: chiste (83,33%), cacho (8,33%), cuento (8,33%)**

**T: cacho (75%), chiste (25%)**

310.- Globo:

**I: globo (62,5%), bomba 37,5%)**

**T: globo (100%)**

311.- Juego: un niño se agacha y otro salta por encima de él, apoyando las manos en su espalda

**I: quantiburra (75%) NC (25%)**

**T: caballito (75%), saltacabra (25%)**

312.- Juego de las escondidas:

**I: escondidas (100%)**

**T: escondidas (100%)**

313.- Columpio (pronunciación Quito):

**I: gulumbio (100%)**

**T: gulumbio (100%)**

314.- Canicas:

**I: bolas (87,5%), canicas (12,5%)**

**T: bolas (75%), canicas (25%)**

315.- Cometa:

**I: cometa (100%)**

**T: cometa (100%)**

316.- Hacer trampa:

**I: hacer trampa (100%)**

**T: hacer trampa (100%)**

**ix. Education**

317.- Jardín de infantes:

**I: jardín (37,5%), pre escolar (25%), colegio (25%), primaria (12,5%)**

**T: jardín (87,5%), pre escolar (12,5%)**

318.- Escuela estatal:

**I: escuela pública (87,5%), escuela estatal (12,5%)**

**T: escuela fiscal (100%)**

319.- Silla de salón:

**I: pupitre (75%), escritorio (25%)**

**T: pupitre (100%)**

320.- Papelera:

**I: caneca de la basura (25%), tanque de basura (20,83%), basurero (8,33%), cesta de basura (8.33)**

**T: basurero (75%), NC (25%)**

321.- Mochila:

**I: mochila (45,83%), bolso (45,83%), carriel (8,33%)**

**T: mochila (58,33%), bolso (45,83%), carriel (20,83%)**

322.- Lápiz:

**I: lápiz (50%), lapicero (50%)**

**T: lápiz (100%)**

323.- Sacapuntas:

**I: sacapuntas (100%)**

**T: sacapuntas (100%)**

324.- Ausentarse de clases a propósito:

**I: volarse de clase (50%), capar clases (37,5%), evadirse (12,5%)**

**T: perearse (100%)**

325.- Pasar el año:

**I: ganar el año (37,5%), pasar el año (25%), aprobar el año (25%), NC (25%)**

**T: pasar el año (75%), aprobar el año (12,5%), exonerarse (12,5%)**

326.- Perder el año:

**I: perder el año (75%), repetir el año (25%)**

**T: repetir el año (50%), perder el año (25%)**

327.- Mesada:

**I: mesada (50%), lata (25%), NC (25%)**

**T: colación (75%), lonchera (25%)**

**x. Weather and atmospheric phenomena**

328.- ¿Cómo se pide la hora?

**I: me regala la hora (50%), ¿Qué horas son? (25%) NC (25%)**

**T: ¿qué horas son? (75%), me regala la hora (25%)**

329.- Agujas del reloj:

**I: minuterio (33,33%) horero (33,33%), segundero (33,33%)**

**T: minuterio (33,33%) horero (33,33%), segundero (33,33%)**

330.- ¿Por qué día empieza la semana?

**I: lunes (100%)**

**T: lunes (75%), domingo (25%)**

331.- Lo que pasó hace muchos años:

**I: muchos años (62,5%), antaño (37,5%)**

**T: hace tiempo (62,5%), antaño (37,5%)**

332.- Lo que pasó hace un momento:

**I: antes (25%), hace un mes (25%), hace poco (25%), ahorita (12,5%),  
reciencitico (12,5 %)**

**T: reciencitico (25%), hace poco (25%), antecito (25%), NC (25%).**

333.- Cielo cubierto de nubes:

**I: nublado (100%)**

**T: nublado (100%)**

334.- Neblina:

**I: neblina (25%), neblando (25%), NC (50%)**

**T: neblina (100%)**

335.- Lluvia muy fina:

**I: llovizna (100%)**

**T: llovizna (50%), paramando (50%)**

336.- Torrencial:

**I: aguacero (50%), tempestad (25%), granizada (25%)**

**T: aguacero (100%)**

337.- Meterse debajo de un sitio cuando llueve:

**I: escamparse (41,66%), mojarse (58,33%), empaparse (33,33%),  
estilarse (8,66%)**

**T: escamparse (75%), empaparse (12,5%), estilarse (12,5%)**

338.- Escampar

**I: escampar (100%)**

**T: escampar (50%), haciendo bueno (25%), salió el sol (25%)**

339.- Atardecer:

**I: atardecer (100%)**

**T: atardecer (62,5%) se puso el sol (25%), el ocaso (12,5)**

340.- Amanecer:

**I: amanecer (100%)**

**T: amanecer (100%)**



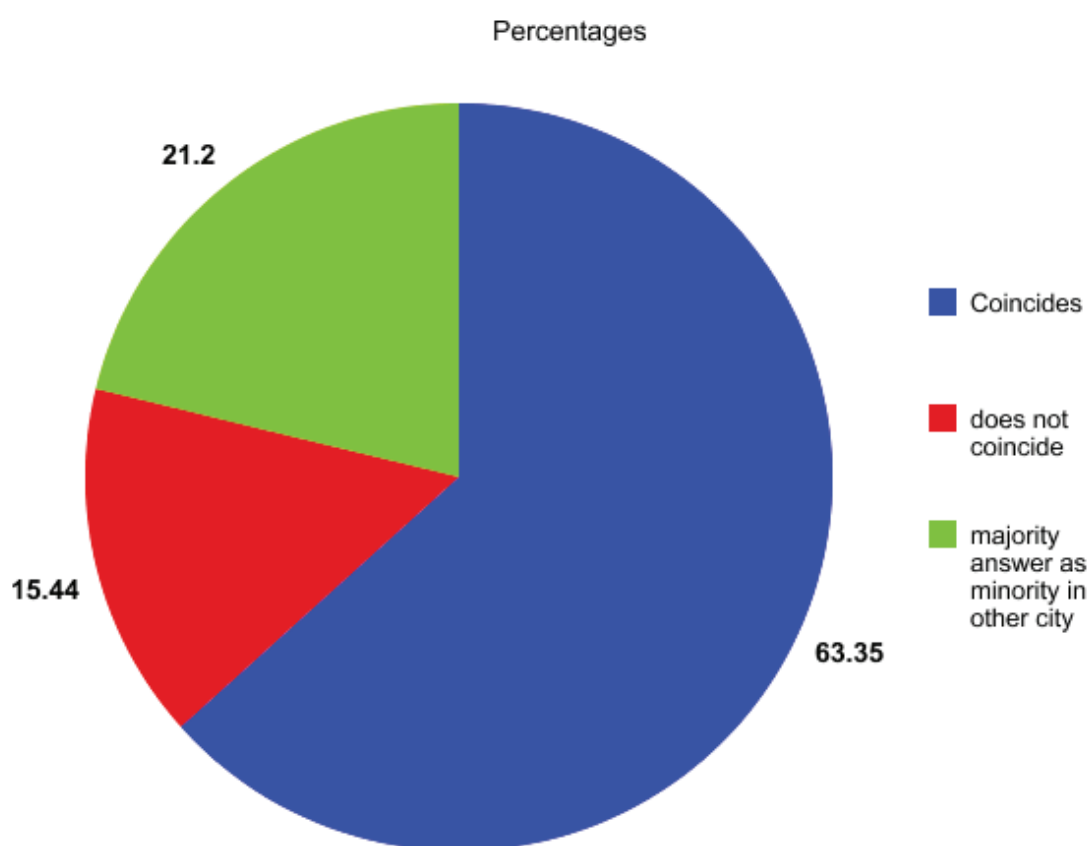
341.- cerca:

**I: cerca (75%), cerradura (12,5%) antejardín (12,5%)**

**T: cerca (75%), verja (25%)**

### c. Analysis

#### i. Lexical correspondence between Ipiales and Tulcan



**Graphic 15:** Percentages of lexicon among the population

#### ii. Absence of majority response in Ipiales and Tulcan

After demonstrating the many differences between Ipiales and Tulcan because of correspondence, we have seen that the vast majority of terms is similar while only a minority

corresponds to divergences among one another. It is quite clear that most of the lexicon found in both locations coincides more than 85,55% (taking into account that certain terms that appear as majority of answers in one location appeared as minority answers in the other). Those terms that appeared as the majority answer in both locations constitute 63,35%, and, as mentioned before, majority answers as minority answers were 21,2%. Only 15.44% does not coincide. Now we want to show the absence of majority response in each city according to semantic categories shown in the previous section.

- **Majority responses that were present in Ipiales but not in Tulcan:** *cabezón* ‘with long hair’; *barros* ‘pimple’; *filo* ‘hungry’; *manzana de Eva* ‘Adam’s apple’; *solitaria* ‘worm’; *bobo* ‘unintelligent person’; *marica* ‘fag’; *perra* ‘bitch’; *sabio* ‘intelligent person’; *acribillar* ‘to kill’; *arrapastoso* ‘scruffy’; *vestido* ‘dress’; *pantalón* ‘pants’; *camisilla* ‘undershirt’; *cuchos* ‘female underwear’; *chaquiras* ‘beads’; *bamba* ‘hair lace’; *relapsoso* ‘debtor’; *con espanto* ‘crying child’; *colgar los guayos* ‘to die’; *casona* ‘big house’; *chécheres* ‘utensils’; *tolete* ‘club’; *montón* ‘pile’; *podrido* ‘rotten’; *miscellanea* ‘supermarket’; *biblioteca* ‘library’; *textilería* ‘textile shop’; *ciudad del hierro* ‘amusement park’; *billete* ‘lottery ticket’; *fracción* ‘lottery ticket’; *oferta* ‘merchandise’; *carnaval multicolor de la frontera* ‘carnival festivity of the region’; *día de muertos* ‘day of the dead’; *guantiburra* ‘game in which a child kneels and another jumps over using him as platform’; *escuela pública* ‘public school’; *volarse de clase* ‘be absent from class’; *ganar el año* ‘pass the school year’; *mesada* ‘monthly payment’; *caneca* ‘trash can’; *muchos años* ‘long ago’; *ñapa* ‘free addition of something, especially food’; *estufa* ‘stove’; *alegre* ‘nice person’; *cena* ‘supper’; *cola* ‘butt’;
- **Majority responses that were present in Tulcan but not in Ipiales:** *pelón* ‘with a lot of hair’; *carate* ‘mange’; *lacio* ‘straight hair’; *leona* ‘hungry’; *manzana de Adán* ‘Adam’s apple’; *cuicas* ‘worm’; *bronquista* ‘brawler’; *cabron* ‘scumbag’; *perra* ‘prostitute’; *muco* ‘greedy’; *dar el vire* ‘to kill’; *fachoso* ‘bad dressed’; *terno* ‘suit’; *dividí* ‘undershirt’; *tiene*

*hambre* ‘a baby crying’; *mazo* ‘penis’; *vereda* ‘sidewalk’; *despoblado* ‘desolate’; *trastes* ‘utensils’; *pila* ‘pile’; *taburete* ‘stool’; *bazar* ‘pound shop’; *noche vieja* ‘New Year’s Eve’; *canaval de Ecuador* ‘carnival celebration of the region’; *wachito* ‘lottery bill’; *caballito* ‘game in which a child kneels and another jumps over using him as platform’; *calentador* ‘sweater’; *perearse* ‘be absent from class’; *tolete* ‘club’ *colación* ‘monthly payment’; *hace tiempo* ‘long time ago’; *desayuno* ‘breakfast’; *yapa* free addition of something, especially food’; *charol* ‘tray’; *cubrecama* ‘bedspray’; *fogón* ‘stove’; *despilfarrador* ‘wasteful’;

- **Majority of answers that appeared as majority in Ipiales but minority in Tulcan:**

*barbado* ‘bearded man’; *picar el ojo* ‘wink’; *gafas* ‘glasses’; *boca* ‘mouth’; *trompudo* ‘big lips’; *sudadera* ‘sweater’; *mueco* ‘toothless’; *senos* ‘breast’; *curandero* ‘healer’; *borracho* ‘drunk’; *guayabo* ‘hangover’; *baja autoestima* ‘lowered self-esteem’; *tacaño* ‘greedy’; *derrochador* ‘spendthrift’; *pene* ‘penis’; *prostituta* ‘prostitute’; *gay* ‘homosexual’; *maleducado* ‘misbehaved’; *quitársela* ‘undress’; *buzo* ‘coat’; *chaqueta* ‘jacket’; *boxer* ‘underwear’; *sosten* ‘bra’; *pulsera* ‘bracelet’; *pasador* ‘hairclip’; *esmalte* ‘varnish’; *rubor* ‘blush’; *lactar* ‘breast-feed’; *ilegítimo* ‘illegitimate child’; *coquetear* ‘to flirt’; *amante* ‘lover’; *bolillo* ‘club’; *pelearingo* ‘thug’; *bóveda* ‘tomb’; *mudarse* ‘to move’; *anden* ‘sidewalk’; *cerradura* ‘lock’; *bombillo* ‘light bulb’; *sacacorchos* ‘corkscrew’; *modista* ‘dressmaker’; *mohoseado* ‘moldy’; *onces* ‘tea time’; *ahumada* ‘burnt food’; *juanesca* ‘typical soup consumed in Easter’; *medico* ‘doctor’; *embolador* ‘bootblack’; *libra* ‘pound’; *puesto* ‘stand’; *limosnero* ‘almoner’; *novena y pase del niño* ‘Novena and procession of the image of Child Jesus’; *chiste* ‘joke’; *perder el año* ‘reproved the school period’; *me regala la hora* ‘what time is it?’; *antes* ‘before’; *agente de tránsito* ‘transit agent’; *vereda* ‘countryside’; *bandeja* ‘tray’; *onces* ‘tea time’; *bolillo* ‘club’; *sábana* ‘blanket’;

- **Majority of answers that appeared as majority in Tulcan but minority in Ipiales:**

*barbudo* ‘bearded man’; *guiñar* ‘to blink’; *lentes* ‘glasses’; *jeta* ‘mouth’; *trompudo* ‘big

lips'; *desmuelado* 'toothless'; *tetas* 'breast'; *yerbatero* 'healer'; *ebrio* 'drunk'; *chuchaqui* 'hangover'; *acomplejada* 'low self-esteem'; *puta* 'prostitute'; *bámbaro* 'homosexual'; *malcriado* 'misbehaved'; *desvestirse* 'undress'; *saco* 'coat'; *chompa* 'jumpers'; *calzoncillo* 'underwear'; *pantalones* 'pants'; *brassier* 'bra'; *manilla* 'bracelet'; *vincha* 'hairband'; *pintauñas* 'varnish'; *base* 'blush'; *amamantar* 'breast-feeding'; *hijo natural* 'unrecognized child'; *enamorarse* 'fall in love'; *moza* 'lover'; *fogón* 'stove'; *tumba* 'tomb'; *trastearse* 'to move'; *chapa* 'lock'; *foco* 'light bulb'; *sábana* 'blanket'; *descorchador* 'corkscrew'; *costurera* 'dressmaker'; *quemada* 'burnt food'; *fanesca* 'typical soup consumed in Easter'; *lustrador* 'bootblack'; *mercancía* 'merchandise'; *balanza* 'scale'; *kiosko* 'stand'; *alcancía* 'almoner'; *pesebre* 'manger with Child Jesus'; *día de difuntos* 'day of the dead'; *rondador* 'Andean instrument'; *feria* 'amusement park'; *cacho* 'joke'; *repetir el año* 'repeat the school period'; *¿qué horas son?* 'what time is it?'; *reciencitico* 'recently'; *tonto* 'fool'; *chévere* 'polite person'; *puta* 'bitch'; *inteligente* 'intelligent person'; *tramposo* 'debtor'; *calzón* 'female underwear'; *cinta* 'hairband'; *estiró la pata* 'to die'; *esetufa* 'stove'; *butaca* 'sofa'; *dañado* 'rotten'; *granero* 'supermarket'; *estante* 'library'; *basurero* 'trash can'; *pasar el año* 'complete successfully school classes'; *pantalones* 'pants'; *fogón* 'fireplace';

### iii. Lexicon and the DRAE

There were 889 answers in Ipiales and 809 terms in Tulcan, which were reduced significantly because of *no answer* (NC) response. Each represents 100% and were divided by total the amount of questions used, 340. The following chart explains the obtained percentages of this survey.

<b>Categories</b>	<b>Ipiales</b>	<b>Tulcan</b>
% of lexicon that the DRAE specifies usage in Ecuador	<b>2,4%</b>	<b>4,34%</b>
% of lexicon that the DRAE specifies usage in Colombia	<b>4,06%</b>	<b>3,70%</b>
% of lexicon that the DRAE specifies as original of South America	<b>1,27%</b>	<b>1,78%</b>
% of lexicon that the DRAE specifies different location of usage than Ecuador or Colombia	<b>2,09%</b>	<b>1,78%</b>

Of the 1,698 answers obtained, there are slight differences between the two cities. First of all, Ipiales shares a slight lower percentage of usage of terms considered typical of Colombia by the DRAE, whereas Tulcan has the same thing but with terms from Ecuador. It is not the same when we check the percentage of terms peculiar to Ecuador used in Ipiales: it is less than the percentage of Colombian terms used in Tulcan. Our records indicate that Ipiales uses many more terms from other places than Tulcan, and the same thing happens with the usage of terms with different meanings. Likewise, there is only a slight 0,27% difference between the one city and the other regarding terms that are not registered by the DRAE. In any case, the margin ranges between 0,70% and 1%, and it is an indicator that there is not much variation between one and the other.

## **VI**

### **RESULTS OF LINGUISTIC AND DIALECTAL CONTACT ON THE COLOMBIAN-ECUADORIAN BORDER**

#### **a. Kichwa Lexicon and its usage in the border**

##### **i. Analysis of Kichwa lexicon**

In this section, we shall discuss several Kichwa expressions which were discovered while investigating on the glossary. It is important to determine three references: DRAE refers to the Dictionary of the Spanish Royal Academy and Cordero refer to the Dictionary of Kichwa by Luis Cordero, ex-President of Ecuador, which is, so far, one of the most complete dictionaries available in bookstores. Finally, we decided to use another interesting dictionary found online, the Dictionary of Spanish and Kichwa by the Royal Academy of Pasto, Colombia, which will be referred to as DRAP. For the purpose of a better translation, we used the Online-Dictionary “Word Reference”. A more complete comparative study between dialects would have demanded more time, but it is still considered one of the goals to be achieved in the future. Likewise, we can see that the Kichwa language has reached so far as to the southern departments of Colombia. Its fusion with Spanish has gone so far as to be able to externalize its terms outside the Andean cultural sphere.

## ii. Kichwa Lexicon

- **achachay:** ‘it is so cold’ (¡Qué frío!). According to the DRAE, it is a peculiar word used in Ecuador with a Kichwa origin denoting coldness. For Cordero as well as the DRAP, it has the same meaning so far. It was found mainly in Tulcan (12,5%).
- **auca:** ‘baby or boy who is not baptized’. It has a Kichwa origin, but specifies its usage as “Hoaorani Indigenous”. For Cordero, it is a synonym of “barbarian, savage, rebel”. The DRAP identifies it as “boy or baby who is not baptized”. Both Ipiales and Tulcan identify with this meaning (100%).
- **cachón:** ‘betrayed husband’. The DRAE does not register this term. For Cordero it comes from ‘gachu’, or ‘horned one’. The DRAP identifies it as ‘cacho’ and it is identified as of Kichwa origin.
- **caracha:** ‘Scab’. The DRAE points out “mange”, but the most accepted meaning is “scab”. Both Cordero and DRAP identify it as “scab”, representing in Tulcan the majority of answers (75%) and in Ipiales a 100%.
- **chaquira:** ‘bead’ or ‘necklace’. The DRAE explains it is a type of bead used during the Spanish colonization of the Americas. Both Cordero and the DRAP coincide in the meaning of “beads”. Additionally, the DRAP talks about a type of “seeds” used in necklaces, or as an esoteric protection. This term was only found in Ipiales (31,25%).
- **chapa:** ‘Policeman’. For the DRAE it is a peculiar word of Ecuador, but does not mention the etymology. DRAP does not mention this term, but Cordero points out this meaning “he who is attentive and watchful, the watcher or the sentinel”. There is a very low percentage of individuals using this word in Ipiales (only 8,33%) contrary to Tulcan (37,49%).

- **chucha:** ‘vagina’ vulgar. Although DRAE mentions this term as being peculiar of Colombia and Peru, in Cordero, it has the connotation of “vagina”. Likewise, the DRAP mentions it as a term of Kichwa origin but not as a genital, but as an animal, “mongrel”. Both Ipiales (18,75%) and Tulcan (25,83%) had this term present.
- **chumado:** ‘drunken’. Cordero points out the origin of this word in the verb *chumana*, and the DRAP explicitly talks about “drunk, or drunkenness”. DRAE does not have this word registered in its database. In this case, *chumado* (drunk) had a similar amount in Ipiales (20,83%) as in Tulcan (23,75%). But when asked about “drunkenness” only Tulcan registered this word (45,83%).
- **churo:** ‘curl, spiral’. DRAE identifies this word as peculiar to Ecuador and Bolivia, both as a “snail” and as “curl” with a Kichwa origin, *churu*. For Cordero, it has the same meaning, “curl, snail” and “shell”. DRAP does not register this term. Both Ipiales (100%) and Tulcan (83,33%) identified this term.
- **chuchaqui:** ‘hangover’. It is defined by DRAE, as physical discomfort after having drunk in excess but with the form of *chaki*, dry. Cordero registers *chaquichig*, “he who dries something”. Ipiales (12,5%) has a significant lower amount against Tulcan (50%).
- **concho:** ‘middle child’. It is a baby or child born after the first born but before the last born. DRAE defines it as originally from *kunchu*. Neither DRAP nor Cordero define this word. Both Ipiales (62,5%) and Tulcan (87,5%) have this term present.
- **coto:** ‘Adam’s apple’. The DRAE recognizes this term as of Kichwa origin from the word *kutu*, but with a different meaning, “goiter”. The same meaning is found in Cordero. Both Ipiales and Tulcan had the same percentage of usage (12,5%).



- **cuy:** ‘guinea pig’. Of Kichwa origin. DRAE, DRAP and Cordero identify it as a rodent, with the Spanish term “guinea pig” (*conejillo de indias*). It was present in Ipiales and Tulcan.
- **guagua:** ‘Baby’. Its origins like in the Kichwa word *wawa*. DRAE identifies it as peculiar to Ecuador, whereas DRAP and Cordero coincide with the meaning “young person” and “toddler”. In Ipiales had a significant percentage (33,33%) but in Tulcan was superior to this (50%). Additionally, for someone who consents too much a baby, the word *aguaguado* was present in Tulcan.
- **huaco o guaco:** ‘toothless’. From the Kichwa *waku*. For the DRAE it is a peculiar word of Ecuador and points out the meaning “cleft lip”. DRAP identifies it as “toothless” but Cordero coincides with DRAE as “cleft lip”. Present in Tulcan (12,5%).
- **locro:** ‘potato soup’, from the Kichwa *rugru*. DRAE points out the meaning “a dish made up of potatoes, meat, maize or other ingredients in Southern America”. For DRAP it is a a soup composed of vegetables and potatoes eaten by farmers. Cordero identifies this word as “a potato soup used in most provinces of Ecuador or any other preparation similar to this one (*lugru*)”. Ipiales (24,99%) and Tulcan (29,16%) had this term present.
- **marcar:** ‘to hold in arms’, from the Kichwa *marcana*, according to the DRAE. DRAP identifies this term as “holding in arms, usually a baby”. Cordero explains that this term comes from *marcag* meaning “holding something in arms and transporting it”.
- **muco or ñuco:** ‘miser, scrooge’. Only DRAP and Cordero have this term registered in their glossaries. DRAP points out a “mutilated part of the body” whereas Cordero explains it is “an articulation or muscle of the body or joint of two body parts”.
- **muchar:** ‘kiss’, from the verb *muchana* of Kichwa . This is found in Cordero’s dictionary, and DRAP identifies it in the same way, “kiss” in Kichwa . Tulcan registered this word (25%).

- **mullo:** ‘bead’, from *mullu*. DRAE identifies this term as peculiar to Ecuador. For DRAP, it is a bead or a dry seed used for necklaces and handicrafts. Cordero gives the meaning of “beads made up of glass, wood or any other material”. It adds the term *chakira*. Ipiiales (6,25%) registers significantly lower in comparison to Tulcan (25%).
  
- **ñaño:** ‘brother or sister, sibling’, from the Kichwa *ñaña*. DRAE identifies it as peculiar to Bolivia, Ecuador and Peru with the meaning “joint by intimate friendship”. Cordero talks about “friend, confident or pal”. Both Ipiiales and Tulcan registered the same percentage of usage (12,5%).
  
- **ñapa o yapa:** ‘small amount priceless given to customer as a gift’, from the word *yapa*. The DRAE gives the meaning as “extra gift, addition”. Both DRAP and Cordero identify it as a gift given to the customer by the seller. Ipiiales identifies *ñapa* (75%) and *yapa* (25%) whereas in Tulcan we find a single term, *yapa* (100%).
  
- **papa:** ‘potato’, from the Kichwa *papa*. Cordero identifies it as a tuber harvested by peasants. Both Ipiiales and Tulcan use this word. Another meaning registered is “vagina”, but only in Tulcan (5%).
  
- **pupo:** ‘belly button’, from the term *pupu*. DRAE identifies this term as peculiar to Argentina and Ecuador, and having a colloquial connotation. DRAP points out the same meaning and additionally mentions a flower belonging to the banana plant. For Cordero, it is the “belly button”, but also the nipple or protuberance found in certain fruits such as lemons and pumpkins. This term was found both in Ipiiales (75%) and Tulcan (50%).
  
- **quena:** ‘Indian flute’. DRAE identifies this term as “a flute original of the Andean highlands”. Its origins lie in the term *kkhéna* from Kichwa . Neither DRAP nor Cordero register this term. It was found both in Ipiiales (22,91%) and Tulcan (16,66%).

- **shungo:** ‘heart’, from the term *shungu*. It means “heart”, but for the DRAP it refers to the heart of animals, whereas Cordero identifies it as “heart”. It is present in Tulcan (16,66%).
- **tocte:** ‘head’. DRAE specifies this word as peculiar to Ecuador and Peru, but only as a type of tree and its fruits. Found in Tulcan (12,5%).
- **totuma:** ‘head’. According to the DRAE, it is the fruit of the *totumo* tree. For Cordero, it is any pumpkin or specifically, the fruit of the *Crescentia Cujete*. Found in Ipiales (37,5%).
- **tuco:** ‘one armed person’, from the term *tucu*. DRAE identifies it as peculiar to Bolivia, Puerto Rico and Venezuela. The DRAP agrees with DRAE as identifying as “one-armed” or “one-hand” person. Found in Ipiales (6,25%).
- **tulpa:** ‘fireplace, stove’, from the Kichwa *tullpa*. DRAE points out this term as peculiar to Colombia, Ecuador and Peru. DRAP mentions this term as “stones or rocks used in a triangular form in order to have a stove”. For Cordero, this term refers to the stone used as a stove by farmers where pots are placed in order to cook. Found in Tulcan (12,5%).
- **vinca:** ‘hairband, headband’, from the term *wincha*. Identified used as in South America and Honduras by the DRAE. It is found in Ipiales (8,33%) but with an overwhelmingly majority in Tulcan (75%).
- **waicho o guaicho:** ‘orphan’. The DRAE has several meanings for this term: as a common consensus, “orphan” is used in South America. Additionally, DRAE identifies this term as peculiar of Chile, Bolivia, Peru and Uruguay. In Ecuador and Peru is considered a fraction of a lottery bill. DRAP identifies this term as “illegitimate son or orphan”. For Cordero, it means “orphan, poor, solitary and abandoned”. Its origins lie in the Kichwa

term *huagchu*. As “guaicho” it is found in Tulcan (25%) as “orphan”. As a fraction of lottery bill, it is found in Tulcan (62,5%). The term “wacho” found in Tulcan, is an adaptation of “watch”, an English word meaning “clock”, to Spanish.

#### **b. Colombian Spanish lexicon in the border**

The next set of terms was compiled. The course of this investigation was no small task, because defining a term *Colombianisms* (particular to Colombia) may take more than a normal investigation on glossary. This happens because many of the terms that we registered had a continental usage or even trans-continental (being used in Spain). For this purpose, the usage of the DRAE has been quite useful, yet not definite. Certain terms, such as *Betty* or *Parcero*, are not present in either DRAE or Haensch because they appeared in the 1990's as the *parlache* dialect, a way of speaking in the poor parts of Medellin which gradually extended to all the country. Castañeda tells us that:

*Parlache* is a dialect used by the majority of youngsters from the city of Medellin and its metropolitan area. These people belong to the socio-economic stratification levels one, two and three (the lowest). It was developed by social groups excluded by society. In that sense, they exclude those sectors of society that segregates them. Because of this, it clearly differentiates from other communication processes because only authentic speakers can use correctly. They are inhabitants of depressed areas in which *Parlache* is used in a proper linguistic context. We can therefore conclude that it is a *diastratic* variety. (2005: 72)

‘*Estratos*’ is a term used by the Colombian state to designate individuals or families according to their socioeconomic status. By ‘*estratos uno dos y tres*’ the author refers to those families in the lowest scale with lowest income. This variety has very little prestige,

and is regarded as a marginal code from the slums of Medellin and those who use it suffer from great disadvantages when migrating to the biggest cities of the country. We can count most of them as war refugees who fled war and assassination in the hands of the paramilitary groups or as having reprisals by the communist guerillas that dispute the control of large and vast rural land, most of it inhabited by peasants. Some of them are still active in crime, and lawlessness influences these areas by exercising violence and control. Thus, the city is a shelter and a new beginning. Nowadays, such terms have become part of Colombia's popular culture. Similarly, Landazuri (2001:54) explains that the Carchi province, due to its proximity to Colombia, has a very different dialect from the rest of the Ecuadorian highland provinces. The usage of Colombian lexicon, as will be seen in the next pages, is quite extended among inhabitants of the province, demonstrating that the cultural influence of Colombia in Ecuador is still very present. We pointed out before the particularities of the Nariño department and its similarities with Ecuador. Many of the terms used have migrated from northern regions such as Antioquia, Santander or Cundinamarca but, nowadays, are considered typical Colombian lexicon. Due to the large influx of Colombians in Ecuador, these terms are now found in certain layers of society due, in part, to the influence of Colombian television and soap operas. We have decided to divide this section into two: the first of which consists in the analysis of Colombian lexicon found in the area, both in Tulcan and Ipiales, with the original meaning expressed by informants and the meaning found in several dictionaries. The second part discusses the usage of several terms that are found both in Ecuador and Colombia. This happens because of a problem with terms that are now currently used by the younger population of these countries. Likewise, we decided to use Gunther Haensch's *New Dictionary of Colombian Peculiar Terms* as the second important source in this glossary. Thus, it will be referred to as "Haensch". Finally, we had to use online sources for certain terms that were not present neither in DRAE nor in Haensch, but that are considered Colombian peculiar terms by other "free dictionaries". There are four dictionaries available online: "*Diccionario Libre*", "*Así Hablamos*", *Wiktionary* the *Wikipedia Dictionary*, and finally the "*Dictionary of the Royal Academy of Pasto*".

### i. Analysis of Colombian lexicon

- **amañarse:** ‘to settle’. DRAE specifies this term as peculiar to Colombia and Venezuela. Additionally it is present in Haensch. It is found in Tulcan (12,5%).
- **arepa:** ‘vagina’. Originally found in the *cumanagoto* language *erepa* meaning “corn” or “maize”. Identified by the DRAE as peculiar to the Antilles, Colombia and Venezuela as maize “tortilla”. Haensch identifies it as maize bread or tortilla peculiar to Antioquia, Caldas, Cauca, Cundinamarca, Nariño, Quindío, Risaralda and Valle del Cauca. Additionally, this term was found to be used as “vagina”. In the course of the interviews, it was identified as “vagina” both in Ipiales (8,33%) and Tulcan (20,83%)
- **bámbaro:** ‘homosexual, friend, pal’. These terms were found in different contexts. DRAE does not register this term, but Haensch and DRAP point out the original meaning as “homosexual”. Other terms were used as for “friend” or “pal”. In Ipiales (20,83%) and Tulcan (50%) is used as a term for gay people, but as an insult was found in Ipiales (6,25%) and Tulcan (14,58%).
- **bellezura:** ‘beautiful girl’. This term was used in Tulcan (25%) and was identified as being an imported term from Colombia. The subject clearly identified its usage as a result of intercultural-commercial and social interchange between the Department of Nariño and the province of Carchi in Ecuador.
- **betty:** ‘ugly person, physically ugly’. This term is used in Ipiales (25%), by a subject of this city. Although the meaning was not registered in any dictionary, we understand this term as a result of cultural shift and influence of soap-operas, such as “Betty la Fea”, where a young, ugly girl is confronted by different situations of life.

- **botarata:** ‘extravagant, spendthrift’. It is identified by DRAE as peculiar to Colombia and Puerto Rico. Haensch identifies it as “extravagant”. It is found in Tulcan (12,5%).
- **caneca:** ‘garbage can’. It is identified by DRAE as peculiar to Colombia and has the same meaning in Haensch. Found in Ipiales (25%)
- **carriel:** ‘leather case’. DRAE points out the same meaning, with an additional spelling “garniel” and explains it is peculiar to Colombia and Venezuela. For Haensch, it is a leather case with several compartments, one of them which is called a “secret compartment”. Found in Ipiales (8,33%) and Tulcan (20,83%).
- **chandoso:** ‘mangy, scabby’. DRAE points out the meaning as peculiar to Colombia, “scabby”. For Haensch, it is a derogatory meaning towards street dogs. It is used mostly in Cauca, Valle del Cauca and Nariño departments. Found in Ipiales (25%).
- **chimbudo:** ‘braided hair’. It is a common term used in Nariño to refer in a derogatory way to people from Ecuador. DRAE does not register the term, but Haensch does. Found in Ipiales mostly (25%).
- **chusco:** ‘handsome, cute’. It is registered in DRAE as “a person who is charming, mischievous and gracious”. For Haensch, it is “handsome, cute”. Found in Ipiales (39,58%) and Tulcan (50%).
- **chuzar:** ‘to stick, prick’. Referred to as a peculiar term of Bolivia, Colombia and Nicaragua in the DRAE, but Haensch identifies this term as peculiar to most departments of Colombia. Found in Tulcan (5%).
- **comuna:** ‘poor neighborhoods’. It is commonly known in Colombia because of the city of Medellin, in whose hills there are multiple “slums” that have been designated as

“comunas”. These sectors have a very high crime rate as they receive several refugees from the internal conflict. It is found in Ipiales (12,5%).

- **copera:** ‘prostitute’. It is found in the DRAE with the meaning “waitress” and it is peculiar to Colombia and Bolivia. In Haensch, it is considered a derogatory term towards “waitress”. Found in Ipiales (5%).
- **cuca:** ‘vagina’. In the DRAE, it is considered a term peculiar to Colombia, Guatemala and Venezuela. Additionally, is considered vulgar. For Haensch it has the same meaning as the DARE, and it is considered vulgar. It was found both in Ipiales (27,08%) and Tulcan (12,5%).
- **cucos:** ‘panties’. This term has very interesting characteristics. As “panty” it is used in plural, but if let alone as “cuco” would have the meaning of “devil”. DRAE does not register this term as the former but it does as the latter, being called “ghost that hunts”. As “panties” it is registered by Haensch and considers it peculiar to Antioquia and Caldas. As “panty” it was found in Ipiales (25%), but as “devil” it was found both in Ipiales (37,5%) and Tulcan (75%).
- **cutumbo:** ‘tall’. It is not found either in DRAE or in Haensch, but it is present in “Online Free Dictionary”, where it is registered as “low quality fighting rooster” and considered peculiar to Colombia. Found in Ipiales (25%).
- **Eve’s Apple:** ‘Adam’s apple’. Curiously, this term changes from one city to another, as it happened to the investigator when he was able to see that individuals from Ipiales would call the *Adam’s apple* “Eve’s apple”. It is registered by the DRAP. This term was general to Ipiales (87,5%).



- **filo:** ‘hungry’. DRAE considers it to be peculiar to El Salvador, and for Haensch it is the same meaning. Found in Ipiales (56,25%).
  
- **fufurufa:** ‘prostitute’. In the dictionary “Así Hablamos” this term is found with this meaning. For the DRAE, it means “someone who manifests refinery and fancy-like mannerisms, to be of high society”. Haensch does not register this term. It is was found only in Ipiales (13,33%).
  
- **gamín:** ‘badly dressed’. This term does not appear in the DRAE but it does in Haensch, where it is considered “a homeless boy who after being abandoned by his parents, or having left his home, lives in the streets together with other individuals of the same fate as associates in a gang. They beg and usually commit small robberies”. With “badly dressed”, Ipiales (12, 5%) and Tulcan (25%) use it altogether. Although it is considered a derogatory term, it has different connotations. It is another synonym for “beggar” or “robber”. In this case, Tulcan (8,33%), registered this meaning.
  
- **gonorrea:** ‘traitorous person, someone who cheats’. Neither DRAE nor Haensch register this term, probably because it appears to be part of the *parlache*. It was found in Ipiales (8,33%).
  
- **guayos (colgar los):** ‘to die’. Although the term was found with this meaning, it does not appear in the DRAE (as “guayo) but it does in Haensch with the meaning “shoe made up of strong material which is resistant and can be used specially for sports”. Found in Ipiales (33,33%).
  
- **guayabo:** ‘hangover’. DRAE identifies this term as peculiar to Colombia. It is classified by Haensch with the same meaning. It appeared in Ipiales (87,5%) and Tulcan (50%).

- **juanesca:** ‘special soup for Holy Week’. This tradition is known in Ecuador as “fanesca” and consists of a combination of different grains and vegetables together with other adherents, such as fish, which are prepared as a soup and is consumed during Holy Week. It is not registered as “juanesca” but it is as “fanesca” in the DRAE. As “juanesca” it is only registered by the DRAP as a “special dish which is shared by families of the region during Holy Thursday and Good Friday. Surprisingly this term showed an impressive amount for both Ipiales (24,99%) and Tulcan (29,16%).
- **la del putas:** ‘beating’. Only Haensch identifies this term as “beating” by using a “club”. It is found in Tulcan (12,5%).
- **molo:** ‘mashed potatoes’. It is registered and considered as peculiar of the Nariño department by Haensch. It is eaten during Holy week in Ipiales (8,33%).
- **mostacilla:** ‘beads’. It is considered a synonym of another term *chaquiras*, by the DRAP. Found in Ipiales (6,25%).
- **muenda:** ‘beating’. It is identified as peculiar to Colombia. In Haensch, it is a “strong beating against a person, which can turn to be very serious”. Found in Ipiales (12,5%).
- **ñero:** ‘friend, companion’. Haensch gives the following meaning: “adjective or affectionate term towards a friend or colleague”. Peculiar of the Nariño department and found in Ipiales (14,58%).
- **pambo:** ‘small, fat person’. Haensch identifies this term as an evolution of the term “pando” in Kichwa. It is peculiar to Nariño and was found in Tulcan (87,5%).

- **parcero:** ‘friend or pal’. This term did not appear in any entrance of either the DRAE or Haensch. On “Wikcionario”, there is an entrance that identifies this term as peculiar to Antioquia. This term appeared on Ipiales (31,24%) and Tulcan (36,9%).
- **panocha:** ‘vagina’ It is peculiar of Cuba and El Salvador (DRAE) but it is found in Haensch, as genitalia of a woman, vagina. Ipiales (8,33%).
- **pichosa:** ‘rhemy, bleary’. Despite being not registered by the DRAE, it appears in Haensch, where it is identified as peculiar to Cundinamarca, North of Santander and Nariño. It appeared in Ipiales (25%).
- **pinga:** ‘penis’, it is a colloquial euphemist term of Central America, Cuba, Ecuador and Peru. For Haensch, it is “penis”. Ipiales (6,25%).
- **pochecas:** ‘boobs’. It appears in the online dictionary “Así hablamos”, as peculiar of Colombia. Ipiales (24,75%)
- **puendos:** ‘natural or related to Ecuador’. It is used mostly in south of Colombia because of its proximity to the Ecuadorian-Colombian border. It was found in Ipiales (25%).
- **raponero:** ‘thief, robber’. Haensch points out the following meaning “theft that snatches personal belongings, sometimes using violence”. Found in Ipiales (8,33%).
- **tegua:** ‘shaman’. This term is peculiar to Colombia, where its meaning is similar to that of “herbalist” or “quack doctor”. It has the first meaning in Haensch, counting in Ipiales only (8,33%)

- **tombo:** ‘police, policeman’. Widely used in South America, it is not registered in the DRAE but it appears in Haensch as a derogative term for “policeman or police”. Ipiales (45,83%) and Tulcan (24,99%) registered this term.
  
- **vereda:** ‘deserted spot’, usually denoting countryside roads or paths in rural Colombia, it is identified by some as the “administrative subdivisions of a municipality, usually of scarce population”. This term is used in Ecuador with a different meaning, as “sidewalk”. With the first meaning, Ipiales (37,5%) and Tulcan (12,5%) registered use of this term. As a “sidewalk”, it is used only in Ecuador (62,5%) and as “streetwalk” again in Tulcan (12,5%).
  
- **verraco:** ‘degree of magnitude, anger’. This term is used in order to express a large magnitude of certain situations. For example, regarding illegal transportation of goods through the border, or smuggling: *el contrabando es muy verraco en esta area*. This term stands for “a lot of smuggling”. Likewise, it appears as something difficult (*este trabajo está mu verraco*), or angry (*se puso muy verraco*). For Haensch, this term has several meanings. For example, we can see “someone who is talented in some activity or work”.
  
- **viringo:** ‘without clothes’. This term appears in Haensch, as “naked” and it is peculiar of Cauca, Magdalena and Nariño’s departments. Found in Ipiales (45,83%) and Tulcan (62,5%).
  
- **volear:** ‘to work’. It is registered in Ipiales (8,33%). Despite being used as “to work”, it appears in the DRAE with a different meaning: “to strike something in the air”. Likewise, Haensch identifies as “the action of throwing” but it also identifies as “to work” and remarks that this term is peculiar to Nariño.

### c. General Terms

When this investigation took place, we encountered several terms which have become more or less general to most of the continent. Indeed we can see how these terms are, nowadays, available to any individual who is an active consumer of communications. This is what happens when some of the terms used here happen to be used also in Ecuador, or that have the same spelling but different meaning (homographs).

- **bronquista:** ‘a person likes to fight’. Even though it is identified by the DRAE as “having desires of vengeance” and been placed as peculiar to Colombia, the fact is that this word is used in Ecuador too, as “a person who likes to fight”. Tulcan (75%) had the only register of this term and its usage in the border.
- **camellar:** ‘to work’. DRAE identifies this term as being peculiar to Colombia, Costa Rica, El Salvador and Honduras, but truth is that this term is used in Ecuador too. Haensch identifies this term as “colloquial usage”. Ipiales (37,5%) and Tulcan (41,66%) appear to use this term as this meaning. In Ecuador, its usage is extended among people.
- **chambear:** ‘to work’. This term is found, according to DRAE, in Central America, Ecuador and Mexico. Haensch does not register this term. Found in Ipiales (24,99%) and Tulcan (8,33%).
- **cucho:** ‘father’. The main problem when classifying this term happened to appear when the investigator discovered the fact that it is used in Ecuador the same way as in Colombia. Even though a percentage of usage of this term as “father” appeared in Ipiales (37,5%), but did not appear in Tulcan. The DRAE shares the meaning as “old person”, identifying it as peculiar to Colombia. Haensch identifies this term with the same meaning, “old person” and recognizes it as peculiar to several Colombian departments, such as Caldas, Cundinamarca or Nariño.

- **empelota:** ‘naked’. Peculiar to Andalucia, Extremadura, Bolivia, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic. Although recognized as peculiar to several countries, Haensch identifies this word as a peculiarity of Colombia. Ipiales has this term registered (20,83%).
- **ruana:** ‘cape, blanket’. It is recognized as peculiar to Colombia and Venezuela. For Haensch, it is a “garment made of wool, with a rectangular form and a small hole where it can be placed on the neck”. It is used in Ecuador (personal experience). Ipiales (62,5%) and Tulcan (50%).
- **tercena:** ‘butcher’s shop’. This term appears in the DRAE with a different connotation, as “state wholesaler grocery store where tobacco and other products are sold”. Additionally, in Haensch, it appears as “a retailer store to sell beef”. Obviously, Haensch is closer to the meaning found in Ipiales (62,5%) and Tulcan (62,5%).
- **vereda:** ‘sidewalk, pavement’. This term causes some confusion because in Colombia it is used as “deserted spot” but in Ecuador it is used as “sidewalk”, as it is identified by the DRAE. Haensch has accepted only the Colombian term. This term appeared in Tulcan with “Sidewalk” meaning and a precise percentage (62,5%).
- **virola:** ‘cross-eyed person’. This term refers to a person who suffers from strabismus. In this sense, DRAE has the same meaning as well as Haensch. Even though it is considered by the German author as peculiar to Colombia, DRAE does not point out any information regarding this, and it is used in Ecuador (investigator’s experience). This term appear in Ipiales (12,5%) and Tulcan (25%).

#### **d. Terms that are classified as of other places but not of Ecuador or Colombia**

The following terms are classified by the DRAE as neither *Ecuadorianisms* nor *Colombianisms*. Some of these terms (*guachimán, chamán, de cache*) had an extra-American/ Spanish origin, while others seemed to be taboo forms (*pájaro, palo, panocha, etc.*). While most of these terms may be classified as being used in specific geographic spots, truth is that, due to the internationalization of Spanish, they became more and more common among the Spanish-speaking community.

- **cachudo:** ‘betrayed’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Peru*. It was found in Ipiales (75%) and Tulcan (50%).
- **chambear:** ‘to work’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras and Mexico*. It was found in Ipiales (24,99%) Tulcan (8,33%).
- **chamán:** ‘shaman’. This term is identified by the DRAE as of *French* and *Tengus* origin . It was found in Ipiales (29,16%).
- **chuchaqui:** ‘hangover’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Bolivia* and *northern Argentina* and it is registered in its shortened version *chaqui*. It was found in Ipiales (12,5%) and Tulcan (50%).
- **chimuelo:** ‘toothless’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *México*. It was found in Tulcan (12,5%).
- **chupar:** ‘to drink’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *El Salvador, Paraguay and Peru*. It was found in Ipiales (37,5%) and Tulcan (75%).

- **codo:** ‘greedy’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Costa Rica, el Salvador and Honduras*. It was found in Ipiales (12,5%) and Tulcan (20,83%).
- **de caché:** ‘elegant’. This term is identified by the DRAE as of *French origin*. It was found in Ipiales (12,5%).
- **desmuelado:** ‘toothless’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *El Salvador, Honduras and Mexico*. It was found in Ipiales (20,83%) and Tulcan (62,5%).
- **filo:** ‘hungry’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *El Salvador*. It was found in Ipiales (56,25%).
- **gabán:** ‘coat’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Puerto Rico and Uruguay*. It was found in Ipiales (25%).
- **guachimán:** ‘watchman, guard’. This term is identified by the DRAE as originally of the *English term ‘watchman’* but is regarded as used in *Costa Rica, Guatemala, Equatorial Guinea, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama, Peru and the Dominican Republic*. It was found in Ipiales (70,83%) and Tulcan (75%).
- **jama:** ‘eat’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Cuba and Venezuela*. It was found in Ipiales (31,25%).
- **morfar:** ‘eat’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Argentina and Uruguay*. It was found in Tulcan (6,25%).
- **pájaro:** ‘penis. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Guatemala and Venezuela*. It was found in Ipiales (14,58%) Tulcan (6,25%).



- **palo:** ‘penis’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba and Uruguay*. It was found in Ipiales (6,25%).
- **panocha:** ‘vagina’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Cuba and El Salvador*. It was found in Ipiales (8,33%).
- **paloma:** ‘penis’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Central America and Venezuela*. It was found in Ipiales (6,25%).
- **rasca:** ‘drunkness’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Venezuela*. It was found in Ipiales (20,83%).
- **trompa:** ‘mouth’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Argentina, Cuba, El Salvador and Uruguay*. It was found in Tulcan (37,5%).
- **trompudo:** ‘big lips’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Argentina, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua and Uruguay*. It was found in Tulcan (29,16%).
- **yunta:** ‘friend’. This term is identified by the DRAE as used in *Argentina, Cuba and Uruguay*. It was found in Tulcan (3,57%).

#### e. Other terms

**Taboo Terms:** There were several taboo terms found in the course of this investigation. Despite being used by only one or two subjects of the interview, it was possible to observe multiple terms to denote ‘sexual organs’. The following are a number of these and where found in both Ipiales and Tulcan, in which everyday objects substitute the original term since is related to a taboo topic such as sexuality.

-*araña* ‘vagina’; *arepa* ‘vagina’; *chepa* ‘vagina’; *chicholo* ‘penis’; *empanada* ‘vagina’; *hueco* ‘vagina’; *manjares* ‘breasts’; *murcielago* ‘penis’; *papa* ‘vagina’; *pichingo* ‘penis’; *pipí* ‘mouth’; *tortilla* ‘vagina’; *vajilla* ‘vagina’; *yogures* ‘breasts’

**Metaphors:** The following were a group of terms and sentences found in the area. These proverbs represent the vivid and colorful usage of the language when associating certain terms to others in a figurative way. This was done as a compilation of what we could hear and perceive. Some of these were found as complete answers and have been included as such in the following. They are merely a representation of linguistic variety and usage:

-*boca llena de moscos* ‘kill’; *botella* ‘hairless’; *calabaza* ‘head’; *calla ese sapo* ‘kill’; *colgar los guayos* ‘to die’; *cuarto de sanalejo* ‘warehouse’; *echo bolsa* ‘drunk’; *está roto el mosco* ‘lame walking’; *estiro las cuatro de andar* ‘to die’; *negro* ‘big mouth’; *mono* ‘big lips’; *jaula* ‘jail’; *la universidad* ‘jail’; *labios de hamburguesa* ‘big lips’; *labios de llanta* ‘big lips’; *la directa* ‘diarrhea’; *boca de pato* ‘big mouth’; *fufurufa* ‘prostitute’; *le falló el mango* ‘to die’; *le quita el pan a mis hijos* ‘lover’; *leona* ‘hungry’; *mas carnes tiene un zancudo en las rodillas que* ‘thin person’; *mandarlo al hueco* ‘kill’; *mandarlo a torcer* ‘kill’; *meterlo bajo tierra* ‘kill’; *muy lumpesco* ‘low society’; *quince uñas* ‘one-legged person’; *par de cebollas a todo van* ‘friend’; *patepalo* ‘one-legged’; *patitorcido* ‘lame’; *picar el ojo* ‘to blink’; *pinocho* ‘big nose’; *pirata* ‘without one eye’; *ponerlo a comer con los gusanos* ‘kill’; *pulgosa* ‘jail’; *sentadero* ‘butt’; *sus mejores y peores días* ‘menstruation’; *tocte* ‘head’; *tiniebla* ‘lover’; *trompón* ‘big mouth’; *venado* ‘betrayed husband’; *torció el cuello* ‘to die’; *volarse de clase* ‘be absent from class’;

**Anglicisms:** As we know, the following terms are a result of contact between the English speaking world (specifically ‘media’) and current audiences of Latin America. This is perceived in frozen terms such as *chompa* or *jeans*, which were present in both Ipiales and Tulcan. This does not represent a specific usage but a more general one as a result of the

influence of English-speaking media in the Spanish-speaking world. It was very interesting to find *yolo* as a synonym for *friend*. This expression is *you only live once*, or in Spanish, *solo se vive una vez*. This term is not registered by dictionaries but it is widely used on the internet as slang.

- *bóxer* ‘men’s underwear’; *brassier* ‘bra’; *chaqueta* ‘jacket’; *chompa* ‘jumpers’ *dumbo* ‘big ears’ from the movie of the same name, *Dumbo*; *jeans* ‘jeans’; *service* ‘street sweeper’; *wacho* ‘heart’; *yolo* ‘friend’;

**Other forms:** These terms were present and demonstrate the usage of comedy and funny representations of different situations.

- *brasileira* ‘thong’; *gorgorito* ‘well-dressed’; *mango* ‘heart’; *pelucones* ‘rich people’.

**Other linguistic changes:**

- *arrapastroso* ‘badly dressed’ (*morphological, from Spanish ‘zarrapastroso’*);
- *chumasi3n* ‘drunk’ (*morphological, from ‘chuma’ and ‘-sion’, from English*) ;
- *gulumbio* ‘swing’ (*phonetical, from ‘columpio’, from Spanish*) ;
- *reciencitico* ‘recently’ (*morphological, diminutive ‘-citico’ suffix attached,*) ;
- *ñuco* ‘greedy’ (*phonetical, from ‘muco’, from Kichwa*);

## VII

### CONCLUSIONS

We have been able to learn that the lexicon of Ipiales and Tulcan is not really that different. This is not a surprise since it is the natural result of contacting two social groups who in their very core are just one group. In a restricted area as the Colombian-Ecuadorian border, this is more than probable since there is extensive population contact with one another. With our interviews we have been able to learn that very few terms are restricted to each area. Despite this, the term *bámbaro* is shared by both Tulcan and Ipiales when designating terms as *homosexual* or *an insult to men*. Differences are much more in the mentality of the people than in reality. We do not pretend to ignore the differences on a morpho-syntactic or phonetic level, but in our case, this has been an investigation oriented towards lexicon. We must not forget the historical friendship and sisterhood between Tulcan and Ipiales as the last cities of both Ecuador and Colombia, which means that most people think they speak in the same way as their neighbors across the border. We have seen the usage of both dictionaries on *Colombianismos* (peculiar terms of Colombia) or *Americanismos* (peculiar terms found in American Spanish in general). The difference can be seen in the term *vereda*, which is used in Colombia to designate rural areas of a municipality but which in Ecuador has only the meaning of *sidewalk*. In our calculations, around 301 terms found were present in Ecuador and Colombia, representing 63,35% of the majority of terms and if we add those terms that were present in the other city as minority answers, we get an impressive 78,71% out of the total number of terms. Despite having several differences, around 15, 44% was

the final result of no coincidence. Regarding Kichwa terms, we have seen several words or expressions to exemplify the presence of Kichwa influence in both cities. For example, the term *auca* means ‘*non-baptized child*’ and it was present in both cities. Likewise, *guagua* (child) or *pupo* (belly button) were registered in Tulcan and Ipiales. *Other terms can be analyzed in the correspondent section but it is important to understand this aspect: we conclude that both Carchi and Nariño belong to the same sphere of influence of bilingualism of Andean Spanish.*

There are enough terms that demonstrate that, whilst Kichwa usage is very small and limited to areas and not spoken by the majority, previous contact permitted the isolation and permanence of Kichwa terms in the Pasto Plateau. Some of these terms were: *tulpa* (fireplace), *quena* (Andean flute), *mullos* (beads), *chaquiras* (beads), *vincha* (hairband), *churo* (curly hair), *huaco* (no teeth), *locro* (regional potato soup of the region), *shungo* (heart) or *chuchaqui* (hangover). It was very interesting to see the variation of the term *yapa/ñapa* (added portion of food as a gift). While most of Tulcan informants were able to identify this term as *yapa*, in Ipiales it was known as *ñapa*. After analyzing these terms we are able to identify that many of them are used in several different situations as stated by our semantic fields. While *chuchaqui* belongs to *Human beings*, *tulpa* is found in *House*. Likewise, *chaquiras* or *mullos* are found in *Clothing*. This means that, while most of the terms found were nouns or adjectives, they have survived through lexical usage throughout time. By choosing one term or another, in this case having to choose between a Kichwa term and a Spanish term, the decision taken by informants gives us an approximation of their former linguistic contact: they are used in labor environments, the house or during working time. It is present in every aspect such as clothing or food. By which *we conclude that there is Kichwa influence registered in the area that may be found mostly in daily life aspects.*

We have defined the border as a place of multiple social factors that have affected its surroundings, and despite being the point of contact between two states; these changes have not affected the identity and integration of both Ipiales and Tulcan where we see differences of usage in lexicon. We have seen the presence of multiple factors that have pushed Colombian

refugees to cross the border, and by doing so, they have come to make contact with the local Ecuadorian dialect. In this sense, the following map exemplifies the cultural, social and political union between inhabitants of those communities in the borderline who, despite being integrated with their neighbors of the Ecuadorian side, they experience Colombian violence in every aspect of daily life. Likewise, the presence of terms from *Parlache* such as *parce*, or *gonorrea* suggests an influence of the Colombian TV or media on the population of the conurbation Tulcan-Ipiales. This is perhaps a result of being under direct influence of international trade and commerce. We have seen that both cities have a relevant position regarding border cities: Tulcan is the largest bi-national conurbation of Ecuador and Ipiales is the second largest bi-national conurbation of Colombia. While many people live under direct influence of the border (as seen in what Lauret mentioned about communications between border towns and the rest of Ecuador), the usage of terms like *arepa* (vagina), *bámbaro* (friend), *carriel* (leather case), *cuca* (vagina), *filo* (hungry), *gamin* (lowlife), *parcero* (friend), *pinga* (penis), *tombo* (cop), *tegua* (healer), *vereda* (rural administrative area) were present in both cities, while other terms like *chompa* (jumpers) or *ñaño* (brother), although present, were considered foreign terms by informants of Ipiales and were recognized as peculiar of Ecuador. Lopez Morales knows about *linguistic globalization*, since for him, it is the media that is expanding this phenomenon and making possible accents and dialects to be acquired by other communities. Such is the case of the former example, *chompa* or *chaqueta* (jacket), both, originally, terms in English. Now that we use terms as *Facebook* or *Twitter*, we have adapted internet terms such as *yolo* (friend), a contraction of the phrase *you only live once* in English. This is a result of the globalization of TV channels to the point that they have become the “most powerful Spanish speakers of the world” (Lopez Morales, 2006:35). *We conclude that the border area of Tulcan-Ipiales is very much influenced by their own status as gates of commerce and have interchanged dialects, among them Colombian terms used in Ecuador as well as English terms. Therefore, there is an extensive external factor that contributes to local dialects.*

## **VIII**

### **RECOMMENDATIONS**

We are aware that our investigation is merely an approximation that tries to shed light on comparative studies of dialectal lexicon and help improve the mutual understanding and integration of the area in question. In this case, this study is just the beginning of further study. Our recommendation would point out towards collecting further data and deepen in the study of border Andean Spanish as well as taking into account human individuals as such. This way, vast areas of human settlement in the Andean range will get an opportunity for border studies. Understanding this aspect, linguistic research can expand and even enter into philology and anthropology because we must first understand what extra-linguistic processes affected the language environment. Likewise, we expect this study to further expand this passionate field. That this may as well contribute to the solution of the conflict of Colombia and the end of discrimination of Colombians in Ecuador by understanding that similarities prevail over minor differences.

## IX

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## IX

### APPENDIX

#### *a. ALECU Questionnaire*

1. Cómo se le dice a la persona que resulta del cruce de indio y blanco? > [\*mestizo; \*cholo; \*chazo; \*laichu].
2. ¿cómo se le dice a esa cosa oscura y dura que queda en una herida o en un grano cuando se ha secado y que más tarde se cae? > [\*costra; \*castra; \*postilla; \*caracha].
3. Que es la mancha pequeña, redonda y oscura que aparece aislada en la cara o en otra parte del cuerpo se llama... > [\*lunar].
4. ¿sabe cómo se llama la enfermedad de la piel producida por un parásito que se introduce debajo de ella produciendo heriditas y, sobre todo, un gran picor? Suelen contagiarla los perros y los gatos, y a ellos se les cae el pelo cuando padecen esta enfermedad. > [\*sarna; \*rasquiña].
5. ¿cómo se llama esto? (SEÑALAR) > [\*cabeza]., ¿conoce otros nombres populares de la cabeza? > [\*mollera; \*mollerita; \*azotea; \*totuma; \*coco; \*coso; \*terraza; \*tocte; \*casco].

6. ¿qué es esto? (SEÑALAR EL PELO DE LA CABEZA) > [\*pelo; \*cabello; \*taheño].
7. ¿cómo se llaman los mechones de pelo en forma de caracol? > [\*rizos; \*churos; \*churros; \*chorros; \*chamecos; \*bucles]. y el pelo con rizos, se llama... > [\*churoso; \*rizado; \*crespo; \*casquillo; \*zambo; \*piñata; \*ensortijado; \*churuco; \*ondulado].
8. . ¿cómo es el pelo sin rizos, como el de los indígenas, por ejemplo? > [\*liso; \*lacio; \*churrio; \*cholo].
9. ¿cómo es el cabello de las personas que empiezan a envejecer? > [\*canoso; \*cano; \*plata; \*blanquecino; \*blanco].
10. la persona que tiene mucho pelo en la cabeza se llama... > [\*peludo; \*pelón]. (Morf.).
11. esos granitos con pus que suelen tener los jóvenes en la cara se llaman... > [\*espinillas; \*barros; \*espinillos].
12. el hueso de la cara en el que se encaja la dentadura se llama... (SEÑALAR) > [\*mandíbula; \*quijada].
13. ¿cómo se le dice al hombre con barba? > [\*barbudo; \*barbado; \*barbón]. (Morf.).
14. ¿y al hombre que casi no tiene barba? > [\*lampiño; \*barbilampiño; \*pelado].
15. cerrar un ojo así es... (IMITAR) > [\*guiñar; \*quiñar; \*picar; \*piñar].
16. ¿cómo se le dice a la persona que tiene los ojos torcidos? (IMITAR) > [\*bizco; \*turnio; \*virolo; \*virulo].

17. ¿y a la persona a la que le falta un ojo? > [\*tuerto; \*chugo; \*chulla ojo; \*virola; \*tuerto virola].
18. ¿cómo se llaman esas cositas duras que tenemos en el ojo cuando nos levantamos? (SEÑALAR) > [\*legañas; \*lagañas; \*chogne].
19. Y la persona que tiene siempre esas cosas es... > [\*lagañoso; \*legañoso; \*chogniento; \*chubico].
20. ¿Cómo se llama lo que nos ponemos en los ojos cuando no vemos bien? > [\*lentes; \*anteojos; \*anteojo; \*gafas de ver].
21. ¿y si son para protegernos del sol? > [\*gafas; \*gafas de sol].
22. ¿cómo se le dice a la persona que tiene las orejas muy grandes? > [\*orejón; \*orejudo; \*orejote; \*orejotas]. (Morf.).
23. además de boca, ¿cómo llaman a esto popularmente? > [\*jeta; \*hocico; \*trompa].
24. ¿cómo se llama a la persona con los labios hacia afuera? (IMITAR) > [\*trompudo; \*jetón; \*bocón].
25. expulsar con fuerza la saliva de la boca es... > [\*escupir; \*esputar; \*gargajear].
26. ¿cómo se llaman estas piezas que sirven para morder? (SEÑALAR) > [\*dientes; \*incisivos].
27. ¿y las piezas más grandes que sirven para masticar? (SEÑALAR) > [\*molares; \*muelas].



28. ¿cómo se le dice a la persona que ha perdido todos los dientes? > [\*desdentado; \*huaco; \*desmuelado].
29. ¿quién es el doctor que arregla la dentadura y saca los dientes y las muelas? > [\*odontólogo; \*dentista].
30. ¿qué sabor tiene el limón? > [\*agrio; \*ácido; \*fuerte].
31. ¿qué sabor tienen los alimentos con mucha sal? > [\*salado].
32. ¿cómo se le dice a la comida a la que le falta sal? > [\*insípida; \*sosa; \*está moro; \*simple; \*desabrido; \*sin sal].
33. ¿cómo se dice que es o está un aguardiente que tiene muchos años? > [\*añejo; \*añejado].
34. ¿conoce otros nombres populares para el hambre? > [\*gusa; \*leona; \*el burro no está amarrado; \*canina; \*me gruñen las tripas; \*se me ha despertado la leona].
35. a un bar donde venden bebidas, vamos a... > [\*tomar; \*libar, \*chupar].
36. ¿conoce otros nombres populares para la nariz? > [\*ñata; \*napias]. [\*chata; \*ñata]
37. ¿cómo se llama en las personas la parte del cuerpo que une la cabeza con el tronco? (SEÑALAR) > [\*cuello; \*pescuezo].
38. ¿cómo se llama la parte interior del cuello por donde pasan los alimentos y que, a veces, duele cuando estamos enfermos? > [\*garganta; \*guargüero; \*güergüero; \*gañote].

39. ¿y un bulto que hay en la parte anterior del cuello de los hombres? (SEÑALAR) > [\*nuez; \*manzana; \*pera; \*manzana de Adán].
40. ¿qué nos ocurre cuando nos quedamos sin voz? > [\*estamos afónicos; \*estamos roncos; \*tenemos pechugera; \*tenemos carraspera].
41. ¿cómo se les dice a los dos órganos de la mujer que sirven para dar leche a los niños pequeños? > [\*pechos; \*mamas; \*tetas; \*senos].
42. ¿cómo se le dice al órgano situado en la parte izquierda del pecho, por dentro, que cuando deja de latir se produce la muerte? > [\*corazón; \*guacho; \*mango; \*cucharón; \*bobo].
43. cuando subimos las gradas y respiramos muy deprisa empezamos a... (IMITAR) > [\*jadear; \*acezar; \*resollar].
44. cuando hemos tomado mucha agua tenemos que ir al baño para... > [\*orinar; \*desaguar; \*mear; \*hacer pis; \*hacer aguas; \*hacer pipí].
45. el líquido que se expulsa por delante cuando vamos al baño? > [\*orina; \*orinas; \*pipí; \*meado; \*orines].
46. la parte carnosa del cuerpo sobre la que nos sentamos se llama... (SEÑALAR) > [\*nalgas; \*poto; \*asentadero; \*trasero; \*rabo; \*posadera; \*glúteo; \*chasis; \*chasis].
47. ¿cómo se le dice al órgano, en forma de bolsa, al que primeramente van a parar los alimentos? (SEÑALAR) > [\*estómago; \*barriga; \*guata].

48. ¿cómo se le dice a esta parte del cuerpo donde están alojados los intestinos? (SEÑALAR)  
> [\*vientre; \*barriga; \*panza; \*tripa].
49. ¿y ese agujerito redondito en el abdomen? (SEÑALAR) > [\*ombligo; \*remate; \*pupo].
50. ¿qué se tiene si uno come un alimento en mal estado y tiene que ir al baño con mucha frecuencia para expulsar lo que tiene en el intestino? > [\*diarrea; \*soltura; \*curso; \*asientos].
51. ¿cómo se le dice a los gusanitos que tienen algunos niños en el intestino y que les produce picor o picazón en el ano? > [\*lombrices; \*cuicas].
52. ¿qué hacemos cuando un alimento nos ha sentado mal y tenemos que expulsarlo por la boca? > [\*vomitar; \*arrojar; \*devolver].
53. ¿qué nombres populares conoce para referirse al órgano sexual del hombre? > [\*pájaro; \*paloma; \*chimbo; \*picho; \*palo; \*tucú; \*verga].
54. ¿qué nombres más comunes conoce para referirse al órgano sexual femenino? > [\*vulva; \*vagina; \*chucha; \*concha; \*chepa; \*funda; \*cosita; \*papaya; \*el chepioco; \*el sanduche].
55. ¿cómo se le dice a esos días del mes en los que la mujer sangra de forma natural? > [\*menstruación; \*regla; \*período; \*está enferma].
56. ¿cómo se llama el acto íntimo que hacen el hombre y la mujer para tener hijos, por ejemplo? > [\*realizar el coito; \*tirar; \*jalar; \*culear; \*destramparse; \*cuadrar; \*ir a caballo; \*jalear; \*empatar; \*hacer el amor; \*tener relaciones sexuales; \*echar polvos]..

57. ¿hacer así es dar...? (IMITAR) > [\*un beso; \*una mucha].
58. ¿cómo se llama esta parte que forma el brazo en su unión con el cuerpo que además tiene pelo? (SEÑALAR) > [\*axila; \*sobaco; \*hayaca].
59. Cómo se llama este dedo? [\*pulgar] Como se llama el dedo siguiente a éste? (SEÑALAR) > [\*índice; \*lameplatos]. ¿y el más largo de la mano? (SEÑALAR) > [\*corazón; \*medio]. ¿y el dedo donde habitualmente se lleva el anillo? (SEÑALAR) > [\*anular; \*dedo de la sortija].
60. ¿cómo se llama a la persona a la que le falta un brazo o una mano? > [\*manco; \*chunco; \*tuco].
61. ¿y a la que le falta una pierna? > [\*cojo; \*mocho; \*patojo; \*manco; \*sucho; \*sacho].
62. ¿cómo se llama a la persona que cura las enfermedades sin ser médico, con yerbas o con otros medios? > [\*curandero; \*brujo; \*naturalista; \*charlatán; \*tegua; \*yerbero; \*yerbatero].
63. una enfermedad que se pasa de una persona a otra se dice que es muy... > [\*contagiosa; \*pasosa].
64. ¿cómo se llama el frío repentino que siente una persona que está enferma y que le produce un ligero temblor? > [\*escalofrío; \*chirichi; \*chirinche].
65. ¿cómo se llama una enfermedad leve, producida por un enfriamiento, que causa estornudos, algo de fiebre y malestar general? > [\*gripe; \*gripa].

66. ¿cómo se le dice a la persona gruesa y baja? > [\*rechoncho; \*patucho; \*sapo; \*omoto; \*choncho; \*tocho; \*tocha].
67. Lo contrario de una persona gorda es... > [\*delgado; \*flaco; \*enjuto].
68. tomar muchos tragos hasta perder la razón es... > [\*emborracharse; \*jumarse; \*chupar; \*chumarse; \*emplutarse]. ¿cómo se llama a la persona que toma trago y pierde la razón? > [\*borracho]. .
69. Y esa persona que ha tomado muchos tragos y empieza a caerse está así porque tiene tremenda... > [\*borrachera; \*jumera; \*chispa; \*rasca; \*chupa].
70. ¿Cómo se llama el malestar que se siente al día siguiente de haber bebido mucho? > [\*resaca; \*chuchaqui; \*chuchequi].
71. la persona a la que le gusta provocar riñas y peleas es... > [\*pendenciero; \*peleón; \*pelearingo; \*camorrista; \*buscapleitos; \*peleador; \*molestoso].
72. a una persona muy inteligente decimos también que es... > [\*vivo; \*pilas; \*sapo; \*sabido; \*preparado; \*avisado; \*buen mate; \*mate].
73. De una persona que tiene poca inteligencia decimos que es... > [\*tonto; \*mudo; \*bruto; \*quedado; \*caído; \*bobo; \*sonso; \*cajón].
74. a una persona a la que todo le sale mal en la vida, tiene.... > [\*mala suerte; \*mala pata].
75. ¿Cómo se llama a la persona que ha perdido el juicio y que tiene problemas mentales serios? > [\*loco; \*chalado; \*chiflado; \*orato; \*sin razón].

76. Cuando estas personas no pueden hacer vida normal se les encierra en... > [\*manicomio; \*lorenzo; \*sanatorio psiquiátrico; \*loquería; \*manichu].
77. ¿cómo se llama a la persona que no acostumbra a decir la verdad? > [\*mentiroso; \*trolero].
78. la persona que no paga sus deudas es... > [\*tramposo; \*deudor; \*incumplido; \*moroso; \*badea; \*maraca; \*menestra; \*zoca].
79. si una persona piensa que es inferior a los demás, se dice que está... > [\*acomplejado].
80. la persona que nunca tiene ganas de trabajar es... > [\*perezoso; \*vago; \*flojo; \*ocioso].
81. ¿y cómo se llama a la persona que gasta todo su dinero en cosas sin importancia? > [\*derrochador; \*manirroto; \*malgastador; \*despilfarra-dor; \*botarata; \*costeador].
82. la persona que no gasta nada de dinero, ni con él ni con los demás es... > [\*tacaño; \*coño; \*muco; \*roñoso; \*coñudo; \*codo; \*miserable; \*machucho; \*hueso; \*rocapeña; \*duro con el dinero].
83. ¿y cómo se llama a una persona que es agradable, inteligente, simpática, etc.? > [\*chévere; \*agradable; \*bacán].
84. ¿cómo se llama al hombre cuya mujer le es infiel? > [\*cornudo; \*cachudo; \*cabrón].
85. si una persona ha hecho algo malo, ante los demás se siente... > [\*avergonzado; \*acholado; \*vergonzoso; \*achunchado].

86. ¿y la persona que se asea poco, que no se lava? > [\*sucio; \*puerco; \*apestoso; \*cochino; \*desaseado].
87. ¿cómo se llama a la mujer que se gana la vida vendiendo su cuerpo? > [\*prostituta; \*puta; \*la niña; \*ganadora; \*golfa; \*perra; \*meretriz; \*ramera; \*zorra].
88. ¿Cómo se le dice al hombre al que sólo le gustan otros hombres? > [\*maricón; \*marica; \*mariconto; \*homosexual; \*manoquebrada; \*gay; \*ser del otro equipo; \*afeminado; amujerado; \*badea; \*chameco; \*chulo; \*funda; \*gallina; \*mantequilla; \*mariposón; \*del otro equipo; \*mariposa; \*ñeco].
89. ¿cómo se llama a la persona que siempre habla mal de los demás y cuenta cosas de la vida de otras personas? > [\*criticón; \*cotilla; \*habladora; \*bocona; \*chismoso; \*bocazas].
90. ¿cómo se le dice al amigo? > [\*pana; \*yunta; \*bróder; \*cuate; \*carnal; \*torreja; \*parcero; \*compañero; \*junta; \*guate; \*guata].
91. ¿cómo es una persona que tiene malos modales y no sabe comportarse en sociedad? > [\*maleducada; \*malcriada].
92. ¿qué insultos más frecuentes se dicen los hombres entre ellos? > [\*hijo de puta; \*pendejo; \*sinvergüenza; \*indio; \*cholo; \*rabo verde; \*culo verde; \*longo; \*cara de verga; \*cara de culo; \*maricón; \*cabrón; \*chucha de tu madre].
93. ¿qué insultos más frecuentes se dicen las mujeres entre ellas? > [\*perra; \*vagabunda; \*chucha de tu madre; \*puta; \*pendeja; \*sonsa].

94. ¿qué otros nombres populares conoce para “matar” a una persona? > [\*asesinar; \*se lo viró; \*se lo comió; \*dar vire; \*templar; \*dar el pase para la otra vida; \*le acabó].
95. si a una persona le dan palos y golpes decimos que ha le han dado... > [\*paliza; \*golpiza].  
¿conoce otros nombres? > [\*tunda; \*palizada; \*garrotiza; \*golpiza; \*garroteada].
96. ¿qué hay que hacer con la ropa para bañarse o para irse a la cama? (IMITAR)> [\*quitarse la ropa; \*sacarse la ropa; \*desvestirse; \*desnudarse].
97. Qué otros nombres conoce para desnudo?
98. ¿cómo se llama a la persona que va siempre bien vestida? > [\*elegante; \*chiche; \*bacán; \*encachinado].
99. ¿Y a la que va siempre mal vestida? > [\*pordiosera; \*desaliñada; \*harapienta; \*adefesiosa; \*desarreglada].
100. ¿cómo se llama la tira de cuero que se abrocha alrededor de los pantalones para que no se caigan? (DIBUJO) > [\*cinturón; \*cinto; \*correa].
101. la prenda de lana tejida, con mangas, abierta por delante, que se pone directamente sobre el cuerpo o sobre la camisa se llama... (DIBUJO) > [\*jersey; \*buzo; \*chompa; \*suéter].
102. la prenda de abrigo en forma de cobija, hecha de lana, que tiene en el centro una abertura para meter la cabeza se llama... (DIBUJO) > [\*ruana; \*poncho].
103. Cómo se le dice a la ropa para hacer deporte ?



104. ¿qué es esto? (DIBUJO) > [pantalón; \*pantalones]. (Núm.).
105. ¿cómo se llama la chaqueta y el pantalón del mismo color, que se usan, por ejemplo, en las fiestas? > [\*terno; \*traje; \*vestido].
106. ¿Y esta prenda sin mangas ajustada al cuerpo que se suele poner sobre la camisa? (DIBUJO) > [\*chaleco; \*cheleco; \*chileco]. (Fon.).
107. ¿cómo se llama la chaqueta, generalmente de cuero o de tela fuerte, que llega hasta la cintura? > [\*chompa; \*cazadora; \*casaca].
108. ¿cómo se llaman esos pantalones de color azul, de tela muy fuerte, que se ponen generalmente la gente joven? > [\*vaqueros; \*blue jeans].
109. ¿cómo se llama la prenda sin mangas que se lleva debajo de la camisa? > [\*camiseta interior; \*bibidí].
110. ¿cómo se llama la prenda íntima que llevan los hombres debajo del pantalón? > [\*calzoncillos; \*calzoncillo; \*calzones]. (Núm.).
111. ¿dónde llevan los hombres los billetes y los documentos? > [\*billetera, cartera].
112. ¿cómo se llama la prenda femenina que cae desde la cintura hacia abajo? > [\*falda; \*pollera].
113. ¿Y la falda y chaqueta de la misma tela y color? > [\*traje sastre; \*terno].
114. ¿cómo se llama la prenda para la mujer, de tela ligera, que suele combinarse con una falda? > [\*blusa; \*camisa].

115. ¿cómo se llama la prenda íntima femenina que sirve para sujetar el pecho? > [\*sostén; \*brasier; \*sujetador].
116. ¿cómo se llama la prenda interior femenina que cubre sus partes íntimas? > [\*bragas; \*calzón; \*calzonario; \*calzonaria; \*biquini].
117. ¿Qué se ponen las mujeres en las piernas? > [\*medias].
118. ¿cómo se llama la prenda de cuero u otro material flexible, para llevar colgado, donde llevan las mujeres sus objetos personales? (DIBUJO) > [\*bolso; \*cartera].
119. ¿cómo se llaman los adornos que se ponen las mujeres en la orejas? > [\*aretes; \*pendientes; \*zarcillos, \*argollas].
120. ¿cómo se llaman esas bolitas, con un huequito en medio, que sirven para hacer collares o rosarios? (DIBUJO) > [\*cuentas; \*mullo].
121. ¿cómo se llama el adorno rígido que se pone en la muñeca? > [\*brazalete, \*pulsera].
122. ¿cómo se llama el adorno redondo, de metal, liso, que se pone en los dedos? (DIBUJO) > [\*anillo].
123. ¿Cómo se llama el objeto de metal, con adornos, que sirve para recoger el pelo en la nuca? (DIBUJO) > [\*pasador; \*vincha].
124. ¿Cómo se llama la cinta para agarrarse el pelo? (DIBUJO) > [\*bajaca; \*cinta; \*diadema; \*cintilla].

125. ¿cómo se llama el producto de color que algunas mujeres se ponen en las uñas? > [*\*laca de uñas; \*esmalte*].
126. ¿con qué se pintan las mujeres los labios? > [*\*carmín; \*barra de labios; \*lápiz labial; \*labial; \*colorete*].
127. ¿qué se ponen las mujeres en las mejillas para tener mejor color? > [*\*chapa; \*brus; \*rus; \*colorete*].
128. ¿cómo se llama un juguetito de los bebés que tiene bolitas y suena cuando se mueve? (DIBUJO) > [*\*sonajero; \*sonaja; \*chinesco; \*entretenedor*].
129. cuando un niño va a nacer, se dice que la mujer va a... > [*\*dar a luz; \*parir; \*alumbrar*].
130. ¿cómo se llama todo el tiempo que sigue al parto? > [*\*puerperio; \*postparto*].
131. ¿cómo se llama la mujer que ayuda en el parto? > [*\*comadrona; \*partera; \*obstetriz*].
132. ¿Cómo se le dice al niño que queda sin bautizar? (Auca, )
133. llevar a un niño a la iglesia para hacerlo cristiano es... > [*\*bautizar; \*cristianar*].
134. ¿cómo se llama el hombre que lleva al niño a bautizar? > [*\*padrino; \*marcataita*]. (
135. ¿y la mujer que lleva al niño a bautizar? > [*\*madrina*].
136. alimentar la madre al niño con su leche es... > [*\*dar el pecho; \*amamantar; \*dar de mamar; \*criar; \*dar de lactar*].

137. hacer que el niño deje de mamar porque ya va siendo mayorcito es... > [\*destetar; \*despechar; \*apartarlo].
138. cuando un niño llora mucho, decimos que está con... > [\*rabieta; \*berrinche; \*chicha].
139. tratar a un niño con excesivo cariño y dejarle hacer lo que quiere es... > [\*mimar; \*engriar; \*malcriar; \*sobreproteger].
140. ¿cómo se llama al niño recién nacido o al que tiene unos pocos meses? > [\*bebé; \*guagua].
141. llevar en brazos al niño es... > [\*amarcar; \*cargar].
142. ¿cómo se le dice al último de los hijos de un matrimonio? > [\*benjamín; \*pucho; \*concho; \*conchito; \*sacaleche; \*raspadura; \*pugszhin].
143. ¿cómo se le decía antes al niño que nace de dos personas que no se han casado? > [\*hijo ilegítimo; \*natural; \*bastardo].
144. ¿cómo se llama el niño que no tiene padre o madre, o ninguno de los dos? > [\*huérfano; \*guácharo].
145. cuando a un muchacho le gusta una mujer, empieza a... > [\*vacilar; \*cuadrar; \*hacer la corte; \*galantear; \*enamorar; \*pretender; \*cortejar; \*piropear].
146. el hombre que mantiene relaciones formales con una mujer antes de casarse es el... > [\*prometido; \*novio].

147. ¿cómo se llama a la mujer que tiene relaciones amorosas con un hombre casado?  
> [\*amante; \*moza; \*querida; \*adúltera; \*sustituta; \*segundera; \*comadre; \*concubina].
148. un hombre y una mujer que viven juntos sin estar casados están... > [\*arreguntados; \*amantes; \*amancebados; \*amachinados; \*conviviendo;
149. ¿cómo se llama familiarmente al padre > [\*papá; \*papa; \*papi; \*jefe; \*viejo].  
¿Y a la madre? > [\*madre; \*mamá; \*mama; \*mami; \*móder; \*jefa; \*vieja].
150. ¿Y al hermano? > [\*chache; \*ñaño; \*mano]. ¿Y a la hermana? > [\*chacha; \*ñaña; \*mana].
151. ¿Y al abuelo? > [\*tata; \*abuelito; \*papacito; \*viejito; \*taita; \*papito; \*papito abuelo; \*apa]. ¿Y a la abuela? > [\*abuela; \*abuelita; \*mami; \*mamacita; \*taita; \*mamita; \*mamitabuela].
152. ¿cómo llaman a los que pertenecen a la clase social pudiente y que tiene mucho dinero?  
> [\*ricos; \*burgueses; \*millonarios; \*clase social alta; \*lanudos].
153. ¿cómo llaman a la clase social que no es ni rica ni pobre, pero vive acomodadamente?  
> [\*burócratas; \*clase media].
154. ¿cómo llama a la clase social muy pobre? > [\*clase baja; \*pobrísimas; \*marginal].
155. ¿qué otros nombres populares conoce para “morir”? > [\*estirar la pata; \*fallecer; \*pararse el guacho; \*pararse el reloj; \*pelar el bollo; \*comprar el boleto al más allá; \*dejar de existir].

156. La persona que ya ha dejado de vivir es un...> [\*cadáver; \*difunto; \*muerto].
157. ¿Cómo se llama la ceremonia religiosa que se celebra antes o después del entierro? > [\*funeral; \*honras fúnebres; \*misa].
158. ¿Y el hueco que se hace en la tierra para meter el cadáver? > [\*tumba; \*sepultura; \*sepoltura; \*fosa; cripta].
159. Como se dice a una persona fea.
160. Como se dice a una persona guapa
161. ¿qué nombre recibe una serie de casas aisladas en el campo? > [\*caserío].
162. ¿cómo se llama el lugar aislado en el que no hay edificios? > [\*solitario, \*sólido, \*despoblado]
163. ¿cómo se llama la máxima autoridad que elige el pueblo en una ciudad? > [\*alcalde; \*presidente de la municipalidad].
164. ¿cómo se llama el edificio grande en una ciudad donde está esta autoridad? > [\*ayuntamiento; \*municipalidad; \*municipio; \*casa municipal].
165. ¿Cómo se llama el conjunto de chozas o viviendas muy pobres, en los alrededores de la ciudad? > [\*suburbios; \*invasiones].
166. ¿cómo se llama el lugar más elevado a los lados de la calle por donde caminan las personas? > [\*acera; \*vereda; \*banquetas].

167. ¿cómo se llama el lugar en la calle, con rayas pintadas en el suelo, por donde deben cruzar los peatones? > [\*paso de cebra; \*cebra; \*paso peatonal; \*carriles].
168. ¿cómo se le llama a la persona que dirige el tránsito en la ciudad? > [\*guardia; \*vigilante; \*policía; \*vigilante de tránsito].
169. la persona que vive en una casa alquilada o arrendada es... > [\*inquilino; \*arrendatario].
170. cambiarse de una casa a otra es... > [\*mudarse de casa].
171. ¿cómo se llama la casa humilde hecha de maderas y paja o cañas y pajas > [\*choza; \*casa de caña].
172. ¿cómo se llama una casa aislada, con jardín, en la ciudad? > [\*chalet; \*villa; \*residencia].
173. las personas que viven en las casas de al lado a la suya son sus... > [\*vecinos; \*circunvecinos; \*coterraños].
174. ¿cómo se llama lo que se pone en lo alto de una casa para evitar que entre el agua? (DIBUJO) > [\*tejado; \*cubierta; \*techo].
175. ¿y el espacio amplio que en interior de una casa se deja al descubierto es un? (EXPLICAR) > [\*patio].
176. ¿cómo se llama el mecanismo de metal donde usted mete la llave para cerrar una puerta? > [\*cerradura; \*chapa]. Otros nombres.

177. ¿cómo se llama el aparatito de las puertas que hace ringggg.... (DIBUJO) > [\*timbre; \*campanilla].
178. ¿cómo se llaman los recipientes de barro donde se ponen plantas de adorno? > [\*maceta; \*macetero; \*tiesto].
179. ¿cómo se llama el lugar de paso, largo y estrecho, en una casa o en un edificio? > [\*pasillo; \*corredor].
180. ¿cómo se llama lo que se pone para tapar toda la cama? > [\*colcha; \*sobrecama; \*cubrecama].
181. la mesita pequeña que se coloca junto a la cabecera de la cama se llama... (DIBUJO) > [\*mesilla; \*velador].
182. ¿cómo se llama el gancho de alambre, madera o plástico, que sirve para colgar la ropa en un armario? (DIBUJO) > [\*percha; \*armador; \*colgador].
183. ¿y la habitación donde se asean y hacen sus necesidades las personas? > [\*cuarto de baño; \*baño; \*aseo].
184. ¿cómo se llaman los muebles o utensilios viejos que no se utilizan ya? > [\*trastos; \*cachivaches; \*chécheres].
185. muchas cosas colocadas una encima de otra forman... > [\*montón; \*pila; \*pilo; \*rumera].
186. ¿cómo se llama la habitación de la casa que se utiliza para guardar cosas? > [\*bodega; \*desván].



187. ¿cómo se llama el aparatito eléctrico, de vidrio, que da luz? (DIBUJO) > [\*bombilla; \*foco; \*bombillo; \*lámpara].
188. ¿cómo se llama el sitio que hay en las cocinas para hacer el fuego y para cocinar? > [\*hogar; \*fogón; \*hornilla; \*cocina].
189. ¿Cómo se llama el cordoncito que se enciende en la vela o en la lámpara de petróleo? > [\*mecha; \*mechón; \*mechero; \*pabilo].
190. cuando hace frío, ¿con qué calientan la casa? > [\*estufa; \*brasero].
191. ¿qué hay que hacer con los alimentos para poder comerlos?... > [\*cocinar; \*guisar; \*cocer].
192. ¿para qué sirve el horno? > [\*asar; \*hornear; \*hornar].
193. ¿cómo se llama el recipiente para cocinar con agua? (DIBUJO) > [\*olla; \*fondo; \*cacerola].
194. ¿Y ese otro recipiente, generalmente de madera, en el que también se machaca el ajo, el ají, etc. (DIBUJO) > [\*mortero; \*almirez; \*majador].
195. ¿cómo se llama el utensilio para desmenuzar el pan, la zanahoria, la remolacha, etc.? (DIBUJO) > [\*rallador; \*rallo].
196. ¿con qué utensilio se abren las botellas? > [\*abridor; \*descorchador; \*destapador]
197. ¿Y el utensilio de metal u otro material para repartir la sopa en la mesa es? (DIBUJO) > [\*cazo; \*cacillo; \*cacilla; \*cucharón].

198. ¿cómo se llama el recipiente plano que sirve para llevar vasos o platos a la mesa? (DIBUJO) > [\*bandeja; \*charol; \*charola; \*azafate].
199. ¿cómo se llama en una casa el lugar donde se reúne la familia o donde se recibe a las visitas? > [\*sala de estar; \*salón; \*sala de recibo].
200. ¿Cómo se llama el asiento para varias personas? (DIBUJO) > [\*sillón; \*butaca; \*butacón, \*sofá].
201. ¿Cómo se llama un mueble donde se colocan los libros? > [\*librero; \*estante]
202. ¿cómo se llama el mueble en el que se meten los alimentos para conservarlos con frío? > [\*frigorífico; \*refrigeradora].
203. ¿qué hay que hacer con la vajilla y con los demás utensilios de cocina después de comer? > [\*fregar; \*lavar].
204. ¿Cómo se llama el recipiente con desagüe en el que se lavan los platos? (DIBUJO) > [\*pila; \*lavadero; \*lavaplatos; \*fregadero].
205. ¿Cómo se llama el mecanismo, que se puede abrir o cerrar, por donde sale el agua en la cocina? (DIBUJO) > [\*grifo; \*llave].
206. ¿Cómo se llama el paño húmedo para limpiar superficies? > [\*bayeta; \*trapo; \*limpiador; \*franela].
207. ¿Cómo se llama el recipiente de plástico o metal en el que se pone la basura de la casa? > [\*cubo de la basura; \*tacho de la basura].

208. ¿Cómo se llaman los polvos blancos que sirven para lavar la ropa? > [\*detergente; \*jabón; \*deja; \*ace].
209. Quitar con agua el jabón a la ropa es... > [\*aclarar la ropa; \*enjuagar].
210. Enrollar la ropa y darle vueltas con cada mano en sentido contrario para que escurra el agua es... > [\*torcer la ropa; \*exprimir; \*escurrir; \*retorcer].
211. ¿Cómo se llama el palo largo con un trapo en su extremo inferior que se utiliza para limpiar con agua el piso? > [\*fregona; \*trapeador; \*lampazo].
212. ¿A dónde van las señoras para arreglarse el pelo? > [\*peluquería de Señoras; \*gabinete; \*salón de belleza].
213. ¿Cómo se llama el utensilio de madera o de concha, con varias filas de púas, que sirve para peinarse? (DIBUJO) > [\*cepillo].
214. la división que se hace en el pelo con el peine cuando la persona se peina se llama... > [\*raya; \*partida; \*camino].
215. ¿cómo se llama la mujer que hace los vestidos para las mujeres? > [\*modista; \*costurera].
216. la labor que consiste en tapar un agujero mediante una trama de hilos entretejidos se llama... > [\*zurcir].
217. ¿con qué instrumentos se teje un saco? > [\*agujas de hacer punto; \*agujones; \*palillos].

218. ¿con qué cortamos los papeles o las telas? > [\*tijera; \*tijeras]. (Núm.).
219. ¿cómo está la carne o el pescado cuando empieza a oler mal? > [\*podrido; \*dañado; \*abombado; \*hediondo; \*apestoso].
220. Y el pan, por ejemplo, que se pone de color gris o verdoso, decimos que está... > [\*mohoso; \*enmohecido; \*lamoso; \*amojosado].
221. ¿cómo se llama lo que comen a media mañana? > [\*fiambre; \*friambre; \*matahambre; \*refrigerio; \*colación].
222. ¿Cómo se llama lo que se come al mediodía? > [\*almuerzo].
223. ¿Cómo se llama lo que comen a media tarde? > [\*merienda; \*matahambre; \*fiambre; \*café; \*entredía; \*refrigerio].
224. ¿Cómo se llama lo que comen por la noche? > [\*cena; \*merienda; \*comida].
225. ¿cómo se llama la comida que se lleva al campo? > [\*tonga; \*pandao; \*cucuyo; \*vianda; \*matahambres; \*fiambre].
226. ¿Y después de la sopa qué comemos? > [\*seco].
227. Cuando una comida está demasiado tiempo al fuego decimos que sabe o huele a... > [\*ahumado; \*quemado; \*pegado].
228. ¿Cómo se llama la comida sobrante del día anterior que se vuelve a calentar? > [\*calentado; \*repitajos].

229. ¿Cómo se llaman los trozos pequeños de carne que se cocinan clavándolos en un pincho? > [\*pinchos morunos; \*carne en palito; \*pinchos].
230. Cómo se llama la pierna posterior del chanco, ya preparada? > [\*jamón; \*pernil].
231. ¿Cómo se llama la planta aromática, de color verde muy vivo, de sabor parecido a la menta, que se emplea como condimento o como agua aromática? > [\*hierbabuena; \*hierbaluisa; \*menta].
232. ¿Cómo se llama lo que se hace con frutas y agua? > [\*jugo; \*fresco].
233. ¿Y el jugo de frutas con leche? > [\*batido; \*sorbete].
234. ¿Cuál es la comida típica de Noche Buena? ¿Cuál es la comida típica de Noche Vieja?  
¿Cuál es la comida típica de Año Nuevo, y cómo se llama?
235. ¿Cuál es la comida Típica de Jueves Santo, y cómo se llama? > [\*fanesca]
236. Si queremos tener dinero para vivir, las personas debemos... > [\*trabajar]. ¿lo dice de otra forma? > [\*chambear; \*camellar; \*gambear].
237. El dinero que nos pagan al mes por nuestro trabajo se llama... > [\*sueldo; \*mensual; \*mensualidad; \*salario].
238. ¿A quién llamamos si estamos enfermos? > [\*doctor; \*médico].
239. ¿Cómo se llama a la persona que roba en las casas, o a otras personas por la calle? > [\*ladrón; \*ratero; \*shúa; \*robón].

240. ¿Y a la que saca dinero a los demás con engaños? > [\*estafador].
241. ¿Cómo se llama al jefe del grupo de obreros de una fábrica?
242. ¿Cómo se llama la mujer que se contrata para hacer las labores domésticas y que , a veces, duerme en la casa? > [\*criada; \*empleada; \*empleada doméstica; \*muchacha de puertas adentro].
243. ¿Quién cuida de los niños a cambio de dinero? > [\*niñera].
244. ¿Cómo se llama la persona que se encarga de la limpieza en un edificio? > [\*muchacha de aseo; \*conserje].
245. ¿quién cuida la obra? > [\*guachimán].
246. ¿Cómo se llama la masa de barro moldeada y secada al aire? > [\*adobe].
247. ¿Cómo se llama la pieza de metal larga y delgada, con cabeza y punta, que sirve para unir dos maderas? > [\*punta; \*clavo].
248. ¿Y a quién llamamos cuando se rompe la cañería? > [\*fontanero; \*gasfitero; \*plomero].
249. ¿Qué parte de un cuchillo corta? > [\*corte, \*filo]. ¿Y qué se hace con el cuchillo? > [\*afilarse; \*sacarle filo; \*esmerilar].
250. ¿Qué hay que hacer con las tijeras cuando el pelo está muy largo? > [\*cortarse el pelo; \*peluquiarse].

251. ¿A dónde van los hombres cuando tienen el pelo muy largo? > [\*peluquería]. ¿Cómo se le dice a la persona que trabaja en este establecimiento? > [\*peluquero].
252. ¿Cómo se le dice a la persona que limpia los zapatos en la calle? > [\*betunero; \*limpiabotas; \*lustrabotas].
253. ¿con qué golpean el hierro contra el yunque? > [\*martillo; \*combo].
254. ¿quién limpia la calle? > [\*barrendero; \*basurero].
255. ¿quién apaga los incendios? > [\*bombero].
256. ¿con qué pagamos lo que compramos? > [\*dinero; \*plata].
257. ¿Y cómo se llama el conjunto de piezas redondas de metal que sirven para pagar? > [\*monedas; \*suelto; \*suelos].
258. ¿Y el dinero de papel? > [\*billetes].
259. Si voy a comprar una cosa que cuesta 5 dólares/ 10.000 pesos y doy un billete de 10 dólares/20.000 pesos, tengo que esperar a que me den... > [\*la vuelta; \*el vuelto].
260. En un almacén, el conjunto de cosas para comprar y vender se llama... > [\*mercancía; \*mercadería].
261. ¿Qué nombre recibe el lugar, al aire libre, donde se venden frutas, verduras, pescado, etc.? > [\*mercado; \*plaza; \*tiangué].

262. ¿Cómo se llama cada una de los lugares que ocupan los vendedores en el mercado? > [*\*puesto; \*toldo; \*tolda; \*caramanchel; \*barraca*].
263. ¿Cómo se llama a la persona que va por las calles vendiendo cosas? > [*\*vendedor callejero; \*ambulante; \*vendedor ambulante*].
264. ¿Cómo se llama a la persona que se dedica a pasar ilegalmente productos de un país a otro? > [*\*contrabandista*].
265. ¿Cuáles son las medidas que se utilizan para pesar? > [*\*arroba; \*quintal*].
266. ¿Cómo se llama lo que se añade de regalo cuando se vende un producto > [*\*adehala; \*yapa; \*colmo*].
267. Un elefante es un animal grande, pero un ratón es.... [*\*pequeño, \*chiquito*].
268. ¿Cómo se llama a la persona que siempre compra en el mismo establecimiento? > [*\*cliente; \*parroquiano; \*casera*].
269. ¿Cómo se llama el establecimiento en el que se vende de todo? > [*\*tienda; \*granero; \*chuzo*]. ¿y el establecimiento en el que se venden los víveres y artículos de primera necesidad? > [*\*tienda de abarrotes; \*abarrotería; \*abastos; \*abacería; \*pulpería*].
270. ¿Quién atiende en este establecimiento? > [*\*tendero; \*tiendero*].
271. ¿cómo se llama el establecimiento donde se vende la carne? > [*\*carnicería; \*tercena*].  
 Cómo se llama a la persona que va ofreciendo mercancía por los establecimientos? > [*\*viajante de comercio; \*agente viajero; \*visitador; \*comerciante; \*papas*]



272. ¿Quién atiende en este establecimiento? > [\*carnicero].
273. ¿Cómo se llama el establecimiento donde se venden exclusivamente licores? > [\*licorería; \*estanquillo; \*estanco; \*aguardentería].
274. ¿Y el establecimiento en el que se venden hilos, botones, cintas, agujas, etc.? > [\*mercería; \*quincallería].
275. ¿Cómo se llama el establecimiento en el que se venden clavos, herramientas, etc.? > [\*ferretería].
276. ¿Cómo se llama a la persona que vende lotería? > [\*vendedor de lotería; \*lotero].
277. ¿Cómo se llama el lugar en la calle donde se hacen y se venden comidas? > [\*quiosco, \*puesto de comidas].
278. ¿cómo se llama el establecimiento en el que se sirven comidas en las mesas? > [\*restaurante; \*restaurant; \*comedor].
279. ¿cómo se llama a la persona uniformada y con arma que se encarga de mantener el orden? > [\*agente de policía; \*policía].
280. ¿Cómo se llama el objeto largo y redondo que lleva para pegar? > [\*porra; \*tolete; \*bolillo; \*palo].
281. Registrar un local o a una persona con el fin de buscar objetos ilegales es... > [\*requisar; \*esculcar; \*allanar; \*pesquisa].

282. ¿Sabe otros nombres para cárcel? > [\*cárcel].
283. ¿cómo se llama la oficina de gobierno que, en las fronteras, puertos y aeropuertos, controla el paso de las mercancías? > [\*aduanero; \*vista; \*vistaforador de aduanas].
284. ¿qué hace el cura los domingos en la iglesia? > [\*celebrar la misa; \*dar la misa].
285. ¿Cómo se llama la casa donde vive el sacerdote? > [\*casa parroquial; \*convento].
286. ¿Cómo se llama el recipiente de madera con una ranura en el que se deposita dinero para la iglesia? > [\*cepillo; \*alcancía; \*cepo; \*limosnero].
287. ¿Cómo se llama a la mujer que va mucho a la iglesia? > [\*beata].
288. ¿Cómo se llama hacer así? (IMITAR) > [\*santiguarse; \*hacer la Señal de la cruz].
289. ¿Le dan algún otro nombre al diablo?? > [\*diablo; \*mandinga; \*cuco; \*satanás].
290. ¿qué cosas cree usted que dan buena suerte? > ¿Qué cosas cree usted que dan mala suerte? >
291. ¿cómo se llama el tubito de papel o de caña, lleno de pólvora, que se lanza a lo alto prendiéndole fuego por su parte inferior? > [\*cohete; \*torpedo; \*camareta; \*volatero].
192. ¿cómo se llama el palo largo, resbaloso, por el que se ha de trepar para conseguir el premio que está en el extremo superior? > [\*cucaña; \*palo encerado; \*palo ensebado; \*caña ensebada].

293. ¿cómo se llama un juego que consiste en colgar de una cuerda unas vasijas de barro llenas de dulce para romperlas a palos con los ojos vendados? > [\*ollas encantadas; \*piñata].
194. ¿cómo se llama un juego que consiste en colocar sobre una rueda una cabeza de toro en la que van sujetos unos cohetes? > [\*toro de fuego; \*vaca loca].
195. ¿cómo se llama una especie de plataforma que gira, sobre la que se colocan caballitos que suben y bajan, carritos, etc.? > [\*carrusel; \*caballitos; \*tio vivo].
196. ¿cómo se llama el conjunto de todos esos aparatos y juegos que se instalan en un pueblo cuando hay fiestas? > [\*feria; \*parque de diversiones].
197. para entrar en estas atracciones, o en el teatro, o en cine hay que comprar... > [\*billete; \*boleto; \*entrada].
198. ¿qué costumbres hay aquí el 24 y 25 de diciembre? > [la misa del Niño].
199. ¿cómo se llama la última noche del año? > [\*noche vieja; \*año viejo; \*año nuevo; \*fin de año].
200. ¿cómo se llama el día 1. de enero? > [\*año nuevo; \*primero de enero; \*primero de año].
201. ¿cómo se llaman los bailes o fiestas que se celebran cuarenta días antes de la Semana Santa, cuando la gente se disfraza o se tira agua? > [\*carnaval].
202. ¿qué festividad se celebra el primero de noviembre? > [\*día de todos los santos; \*día de los angelitos].

203. Bebida tradicional por día de muertos:
204. ¿cómo se llama la fiesta para celebrar los quince años de una muchacha? > [\*fiesta rosada; \*de quince años; \*quinceañera].
205. ¿cómo se llama el instrumento musical que consiste en varios tubos unidos que forman escala musical? > [\*siringa; \*rondador; \*flauta de pan; \*pincullo; \*rondín].
206. ¿qué instrumentos de cuerda se tocan en esta zona? > [\*violín; \*arpa].
207. ¿cómo se llama cada pedacito de lotería? > [\*guacho; \*guachito].
208. ¿cómo se llama el cuento cortito que hace reír a la gente? [\*chiste; \*cacho].
209. ¿cómo se llama esa bolsita de caucho de color que se llena de aire y sube si se deja suelto? (DIBUJO) > [\*globo; \*bomba].
210. ¿cómo se llama este juego: un niño se agacha y otro salta por encima de él, apoyando las manos en su espalda? > [\*pídola; \*si me rozas; \*caballito; \*al burro; \*el sinqueterroce; \*caballeta; \*capirotejo; \*la mulita].
211. ¿cómo se llama el juego que consiste en que unas personas se esconden y otras, u otra, tienen que encontrarlas? > [\*escondidas; \*escondite;
212. ¿cómo se llama la cuerda que se ata en alto por sus dos extremos, para que se siente una persona en el centro y se balancee? > [\*columpio; \*gulumbio].

213. ¿cómo se llaman unas esferitas o pelotitas muy pequeñas de cristal o de barro cocido con las que se juega empujándolas con el dedo pulgar de la mano? > [\*bolas; \*pepo; \*bolillas; \*mable; \*canicas; \*juego de las bolillas; \*de las peñas].
214. ¿cómo se llama el almacén plano y liviano hecho de cañas y papel que se hace volar, manejándolo con piola? > [\*cometa; \*rombo; \*volador].
215. no jugar con limpieza y honradamente es... > [\*hacer trampas].
216. ¿a qué centro educativo se lleva a un niño pequeño antes de empezar la primaria? > [\*parvulario; \*kínder; \*prekínder; \*jardín de infancia; \*jardín].
217. ¿cómo se llama la escuela que está financiada por el gobierno? > [\*escuela pública; \*escuela fiscal; \*fiscomisional].
218. ¿cómo se llama el sitio donde se sienta el alumno? > [\*pupitre; \*banca].
219. en la casa o en escuela los papeles que ya no sirven se botan en... > [\*papelera; \*tacho; \*tacho de basura].
220. ¿en que llevan los cuadernos, libros, etc.? (DIBUJO) > [\*cartera; \*carril; \*maleta; \*maletín] [\*mochila] [morral]..
221. ¿Cómo se llama ese implemento de madera con una mina por dentro? (DIBUJO) > [\*lápiz; lapicero].
222. ¿cómo se llama el aparatito para sacar punta a los lápices? (DIBUJO) > [\*sacapuntas; \*sacapunta; \*tajador].

223. faltar a clase voluntariamente es... > [\*echarse la pera; \*ranclearse; \*hacerse la pava; \*pavearse; \*fugarse; \*rajarse; hacer novillos].
224. superar en los exámenes todas las asignaturas del año es... > [\*pasar de año; \*aprobar el año].
225. no aprobar las asignaturas de un año es... > [\*suspender; \*perder; \*reprobar; \*quedarse].
226. ¿cómo se llama el dinero que el estudiante lleva diariamente al colegio? > [\*fiambre; \*colación; \*mesada].
227. ¿cómo pide usted la hora? > [\*¿qué hora es?; \*¿qué horas son?; \*¿qué hora tiene?; \*¿qué horas serán?].
228. ¿cómo se llama en un reloj ese palito que marca las horas? > [\*horero; \*horario].  
¿y el que marca los minutos? > [\*minutero]. ¿Y el que se mueve constantemente? > [\*segundero]. ¿y éste? (DIBUJO) > [\*reloj despertador].
229. ¿por qué día comienza la semana? > [*día* antepuesto a los nombres de los días de la semana: *día lunes, día martes*, etc.) > [\*lunes; \*día lunes].
230. ¿cuándo se dice que ha ocurrido una cosa que pasó hace muchísimos años? > [\*antaño; \*hace años].
231. ¿y algo que ha pasado hace un momento? > [\*recién; \*ahorita; \*endenantes; \*enantes; \*endeantes].

232. ¿cómo se dice que está el cielo cubierto de nubes? > [\*nublado; \*nubado; \*oscuro; \*anublado].
233. ¿qué hay cuando las nubes están pegadas a la tierra y casi no se ve? > [\*niebla; \*neblina].
234. ¿cómo se llama la lluvia muy fina? > [\*llovizna; \*garda; \*sarpe; \*páramo; \*plaga].
235. cuando cae de pronto una lluvia muy fuerte se dice que cae... > [\*chaparrón; \*aguacero; \*palo de agua; \*torrencial].
236. Meterse debajo de un sitio cuando llueve es... > [\*resguardarse; \*escampar; \*guarecerse; \*aguarecerse] Mojarse mucho es... > [\*calarse; \*empaparse].
237. Dejar de llover es... > [\*escampar].
238. Ocultarse el sol por la tarde es... > [\*ponerse; \*esconderse; \*rayarse].
239. Aparecer el sol por la mañana es... > [\*amanecer; \*salir; \*rayar; \*apuntar]
240. cómo se llama el cerramiento que se pone alrededor de una casa con jardín o alrededor de un espacio sin construir? > [\*cerca; \*verja].